The Nation

Vol. CVI NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 10, 1918 No. 2741

The Week

PRESIDENT WILSON'S address to Congress, last Friday, was pitched in a low key. It was a quiet and business-like document which he read. There was in it no betrayal of strain or excitement, as if in acute consciousness of taking a momentous step in the history of the American Government. Indeed, Mr. Wilson did little but explain and amplify what had already been done in assuming control of the railways, and his main interest seemed to lie in obtaining from Congress the supplementary legislation necessary. Yet all the fundamentals were stated, simply but impressively. In striking for his main end—unified control of the railways for national purposes—the President did not forget the essential safeguards. The roads, with their immense investments, are property. It cannot be taken by the Government without compensation. The owners cannot be deprived even temporarily of the control of what is theirs, unless they are first guaranteed a fair income from it. And in addition to this consideration of law and justice, there is, as President Wilson pointed out, the intimate connection of the railways with the whole financial fabric of the country. That must be kept intact and strong at all hazards. Of this truth of finance and business no one has shown a firmer grasp than Mr. Wilson in his message to Congress. Its tenor and its reception should do much to allay apprehensions and to stabilize the security markets.

THE announcement that Lord Reading is to succeed Sir Cecil Spring-Rice as British Ambassador at Washington is bound to create a sensation on both sides of the Atlantic. This marks, in truth, a new diplomacy, for Lord Reading's training has been anything but along the lines of the conventional British diplomat. A former stock broker, mixed up in the Marconi stock scandal, though apparently more as a careless victim than anything else, the once Attorney-General and now Chief Justice of England, the former Rufus Isaacs has been a storm centre in English politics ever since his rapid rise began. That he is of Jewish blood will make the Tories rage still more, as they read of this new post. But Lord Reading is indubitably a man of great ability and of much personal charm. He has made an excellent impression on his visits to this country as an able business man, and he will undoubtedly be a business Ambassador such as the time calls for. At any rate, most Americans, we fancy, will breathe a sigh of relief when they read the news and say: "Well, thank Heaven, it isn't Northcliffe!"

IF Col. House, during his stay abroad, discussed peace aims with the Allies, the fact does not appear in the very exhaustive summary of the work of the mission issued by the State Department. From that summary it is plain that as a war mission purely Col. House and his associates wasted little time. The syllabus of work accomplished is impressive, even if we make allowance for duplications and even triplications under the various sub-heads, Diplomatic, Military, Naval, and so on. Thus the question of debarking facilities in France for American troops is mentioned three times. The outstanding consideration, however, is that there was full and free consultation and agreement upon complete unity. Col. House and his associates did not merely sit in conference at Paris. They did business with the British Cabinet, with the British Admiralty, with all the Allied Governments; they interviewed chiefs of staff and commanders-in-chief; they inspected the fronts. They received explicit information on vital points, such as "full and detailed" reports of tonnage losses since the beginning of the war and estimates of new tonnage production during the year just beginning. There can be no question now that Mr. Wilson is fully informed on the war situation; more fully informed than the public is, even after reading the State Department summary. For the public there is as yet no indication which of the great necessities, shipping, men, food, munitions, is the first necessity. But the President undoubtedly knows, and we must expect that stress will accordingly be laid on our various tasks in the order of this newly ascertained priority.

FULL knowledge and full coördination would thus appear to be the result of Col. House's labors. The war policy of the United States was discussed with all the Allied Governments, and the needs of the Allies and the extent to which the United States must bring aid were discussed with the British Cabinet. But we in turn have received pledges. "The contributions likewise of the countries associated with the United States were determined." In the matter of food, the Allies have pledged themselves to compulsory regulation. The Allies are to supply tonnage for the transport of our men to Europe—and here incidentally is the only hint we have of the importance attached to the quick arrival of our men at the front. We are not to be a silent partner. In every sphere of joint action we are to have a voice and a vote. We are to sit in a supreme war council for the conduct of military operations; also in an inter-allied naval council; also in an inter-allied financial council; also in an inter-allied shipping council; also in inter-allied councils and boards for the study of food and other matters of less importance. It needs a pretty subtle knowledge of international law now to determine just what is the position of the United States with regard to the countries "associated" with us in the war. Technically we are not an ally; virtually we are one, to the extent, surely, of having something to say about peace aims as well as war aims.

PROVOST-MARSHAL CROWDER'S proposals concerning the future operations of the Selective Draft law receive a wrong emphasis in those headlines which describe Gen. Crowder as urging the employment of only Class 1, made up of men without dependents and engaged in unskilled labor. There should be no urging of the matter, since this has been the underlying principle of the new classification. The implication would now be that it is, after all, a matter of opinion just how the several classes are to be used. What Gen. Crowder really urges is the inclusion

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in Class 1 of young men who have attained the age of twenty-one since last June. That is a policy for which there is no haste, by the Provost-Marshal's own showing. Counting the increased regular army, the Federalized National Guard, and the new National Army, it is estimated that there are 1,200,000 men now under the colors. There are more than 370,000 men certified for service in the National Army who have not yet been summoned to camp. There are, according to Gen. Crowder's estimate, a million men on the registration lists who would fall into Class 1. That is, without a change in the law, the utilized or available lists exceed 2,500,000 men, a number which there is no chance of bringing into use during the present year. The question of man power, therefore, is not at all so pressing a problem as to justify the confusion which would result from inserting the twenty-one-year-old men in the liability scale established last year.

TWO of the most striking inequities in the working of the original draft are redressed under the new classification, or will be, if Gen. Crowder's recommendation regarding the distribution of quotas is accepted. The first relates to the liability of men with dependents, who now fall automatically out of Class 1 instead of being subject to the ordeal of claiming exemption. The second deals with the fixing of district quotas, not according to the total registration, but, as Gen. Crowder proposes, according to the number of Class 1 men in a district. Protests against the original draft from districts with a large alien population were disregarded, like other criticisms against the draft, on the ground of urgency. We were told that it was essential to get recruits into the training camps. It is now pretty well agreed that we should have done better in not summoning so many men to camp before the machinery for taking care of them and training them was available. As to the fear of a deficiency in number because of lack of spirit among the young men of America, we have an answer in Gen. Crowder's figures for the response among aliens. Nearly twenty per cent. of aliens called up refused to claim the exemption to which they were legally entitled. If that was the case with aliens, it is a safe guess as to the stuff of the native-born and the naturalized. The question of compulsory service versus volunteerism is now academic, but there is little doubt that President Wilson could have filled the camps as easily by calling upon the youth of America as by drafting them.

FROM London is hinted the possibility of Allied recognition of the Bolsheviki, at least as a *de facto* Government, and of the replacement of Sir George Buchanan at Petrograd by a British Ambassador "in marked sympathy with the ideas of revolutionary Russia." This would be a gratifying sign of a higher understanding of the Russian situation in responsible Allied circles than is revealed in the usual newspaper disposal of Lenine and Trotzky as fools and traitors. It would be mischievous, however, if the impression should go forth that the Allies are willing to recognize Trotzky when Trotzky threatens to take up arms against the Germans and will abandon him if he relapses into his original views. Fatal would be the impression that the Allies are interested in Russia entirely for their own sake, though no one would blame them for humanly thinking of their own interests in conjunction with those of Russia. There has opened up a gap in Germany's diplomatic campaign on the Russian front through which a courageous and enlightened Allied diplomacy may conceivably drive to victory.

TAKE, for instance, the question of Alsace-Lorraine. If the Allies are bent upon its restoration to France, see what an opportunity for a straightforward plea has opened up. The Allies might say to the Bolsheviki: "You have insisted on a plébiscite of self-definition for Alsace-Lorraine, but consider how the plébiscite is not so simple a matter as you have imagined. Alsace-Lorraine is to France what Courland, Lithuania, and Poland are to you. You say that there can be no just plébiscite in these lands until the refugee population has returned and the intimidation of the German arms is removed. This is the French argument about Alsace-Lorraine, except for the difference in time that has elapsed since hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen fled from Alsace-Lorraine and the intimidation of forty-five years of German government." The precise effect on the Bolshevik mind need not be predicted, but that some effect there would be who can doubt? Or who can doubt that such a tone would be ever so much more persuasive than calling Trotzky names?

HAVING an idle moment, President Wilson bethinks himself of a problem over which diverse interests have been fighting for several years, presses a button, thus summoning a dozen or more leaders of the House, lays before them a bill, receives their assent to it, and with the trifling matter of the development of the nation's water power out of the way, turns his attention to more difficult things. The disposition of this issue is really a great triumph for the Administration. While the recommendations of the Departments of the Interior, War, and Agriculture, as embodied in the new bill, are yet to run the gantlet of House and Senate, there can be little doubt of their adoption. The opposing views that have so long prevented an agreement upon a policy have been reconciled in advance, and the bill represents, not the ideas of one set of men or another, or a mere attempt at a compromise, but an actual harmonizing of the interests affected. To bring this about and put it on the path to legal enactment required not merely the finding of a solution to the questions involved, but also a change in the machinery of the House by the creation of a Committee on Water Power. The President did not shrink from any necessary step, being urged by the need of saving fuel and lessening the demands upon transportation, caused by the moving of coal and other heavy fuels, and the will to put a stop to the waste of perhaps 35,000,000 horsepower annually found a way.

A PHILADELPHIA newspaper is at some pains to point out the "somewhat singular fact" that no Secretary of the Treasury has ever reached the Presidency. The post "has been filled by many able and eminent men; not a few have been ambitious to occupy the White House, and some of them have labored hard to accomplish that purpose." There was William H. Crawford, who held office under Monroe. He was a shrewd politician, but his nomination, far from being a step to the higher position, gave the *coup de grâce* to the system of nomination by Congressional caucus. John Sherman and Salmon P. Chase never got as far as nomination, but the chances of at least the former for the great prize were brighter than Crawford's. Sherman's nomination at any one of the three Conventions to which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his name was presented would have meant a real contest, but in the first one the struggle between Grant and Blaine had for the Ohioan the tragic termination of the naming of his own campaign manager; in the second, Blaine won on the fourth ballot, only to be defeated in November, and in the third, in which Sherman started with more than twice the votes of Gresham, his nearest rival, Harrison, virtually a "dark horse," was nominated and elected. Chase remained a receptive candidate after his elevation to the Supreme bench. But our Philadelphia contemporary would not be so cruel as to imply that these precedents have any bearing upon the campaign of 1920, we hope.

A NORTHERN Democratic Senator and border Democratic Representative plead simultaneously with their Southern associates to think twice before voting as a body against the suffrage amendment. The Republicans, says Senator Hollis, of New Hampshire, are eager to complete the enfranchisement of women. "Why should the Democrats permit the Republicans to beat them to it? What woman suffrage by States was to the peace policy of the Democratic party in 1916, national woman suffrage is to-day to the war policy of the country." Representative Cantrell, of Tennessee, sees political suicide in opposition. "For the Southern Democrats in Congress to say to the millions of patriotic women that suffrage shall not be given them would bring down upon our heads such condemnation from the suffrage States that we would be driven from power." Many a Southern Congressman will feel between two fires. The Congressional elections are coming, and he must please his constituents. On the other hand, if his party offends the women voters of the North, the next Congress will be Republican, he will lose his committee control, and he will see imminent Democratic defeat in the Presidential election of 1920. The dilemma forces him to take a broader view of the question than if he regarded himself simply as the spokesman of his own small district.

CANADA has viewed the taking over of the American railways by our Government with great interest, and from the American decision suggestions for Government operation of all Dominion railways have gained new strength. Within a few weeks the Canadian Northern system will be taken over in accordance with the decision of Parliament, giving Canada a total trackage of 14,000 miles under Government control. Only two great systems, the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk (with the Grand Trunk Pacific), will be wholly in private hands; and some time ago the Government commissioners investigating the railway problem advised the taking over of the Grand Trunk. Even if this were not done, the unification of the whole mileage could be accomplished simply by making the management of the C. P. R. and G. T. R. responsible to the Government, and the Government responsible to the stockholders for the continuance of the dividends of recent years. Some see a special motive in taking over the Canadian Pacific, in that this railway might be made so profitable as to help meet deficits elsewhere.

PREMIER BORDEN'S stoppage of the importation of intoxicating liquor into Canada, and promise to cut off domestic manufacture of liquor in the near future, have there been generally approved. "A big and bold thing," says the Toronto *Globe;* probably the permanent end of the main "cause of riotous living, of national waste, and of social demoralization and misery," says the Montreal *Mail and Empire;* "the greatest step ever undertaken in social reform in this country," says the Ottawa *Citizen.* All the nine Provinces except Quebec are already as "dry" as provincial legislation can make them, and Quebec has been conquered by the prohibition forces so fast that by next summer the only notable "wet" spots would be Montreal and Sherbrooke —even Quebec City having voted to oust the saloon. Outside the Dominion, Newfoundland went "dry" a year ago. A principal cause of rejoicing is, therefore, simply that the Government edict against transporting liquor into any part of Canada wherein its sale is illegal ends all possibility of evasion of local or provincial enactments. The revenue loss to the Dominion is about $12,000,000 a year, but Canada is in a mood to regard its loss as permanent.

THE report just published in England by the Religious Society of Friends concerning assistance given alien enemies proves that not all the bonds of humanity have been severed by the war. For three years the Society has been devoting its best energies to caring for the wives and children of interned Germans and Austrians, and to looking after the interned Germans and Austrians themselves. Over 5,000 cases have been cared for among the families of these unfortunate men. Country homes at the seaside have been opened for the children threatened by under-nourishment with tuberculosis, clothes have been supplied the women, extra food has been given, a rest home was established where food and entertainment and good cheer were provided these temporary pariahs, many of whom were actually English-born and German only by marriage or parentage. At the camps, where some fifty thousand civilians were interned, a regular complex organization had to be inaugurated for the delivery of parcels sent from Germany through Switzerland, and for the occupation of the interned, who were encouraged to engage in the manufacture of a large stock of hand-made articles. These then found a market, first in this country and later in Sweden. Assured that the English civilians at Ruhleben, near Berlin, were receiving, on their part, similar merciful treatment, the Society of Friends has in this manner, for three years, kept alight the fires of humanity in the face of all obstacles, and hopes to continue to do so until the war's end.

THE Spanish royal palace at La Granja, just destroyed by fire, is the one known for the remark of Philip V upon its fountains, finer even than those of Versailles: "They cost me three millions, and amused me three minutes!" Situated at an altitude expected to provide an Alpine climate in summer, it is not strange that frozen pipes made it impossible to fight the flames. The loss is largely an architectural one, for the fine antiques once kept there have been long replaced by modern copies. The royal apartments at "the grange" were probably richly furnished, but without many masterpieces in painting or sculpture. The frescoes in the Chapel Royal, and the tombs of Philip V and his Queen Isabella, have even been sneered at by artists. It is the gardens and the cascades, the fountains of Apollo and Andromeda and Diana, built by a sovereign enamoured of the magnificence of Versailles, which have constituted the chief attraction to tourists; and it may be hoped that they will be restored.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War Aims that Aim at Peace

AMERICANS may well feel gratified that the leadership of their country in stating the aims of the war and the terms of peace is so freely acknowledged in England. The British Labor party took over bodily from President Wilson the definition of the "purpose" of the war—namely, "that the world may henceforth be made safe for democracy." Similarly did it adhere to the American position at point after point, though it went further, especially in dealing with after-war problems, concerning which whoever drafted the British Labor platform displayed a prescient statesmanship. And from many other sources has come recognition of the work of the United States in clarifying the aims of the war. The *Manchester Guardian* spoke not long ago of the advantage it was to the Allies to have a "great man" in America to give them an intellectual and moral lead. In the last number of *The New Europe*, the editor says that those who, nine months ago, gave to Lloyd George the title of "Prime Minister of Europe" would to-day "admit that he has resigned that rank in favor of one who is not an European." It is added: "The political leadership has been transferred, at least for the moment, from London to Washington." Best of all, however, is the tribute of the Tory *Morning Post* of London, which declares that the way in which President Wilson has defined America's unselfish objects in going to war has placed Germany "in the position of fighting against justice, honor, security, and friendly international intercourse."

It is desirable to keep this cordial view in mind when considering Lloyd George's speech of Saturday. This is another great step forward towards peace—a strategic move of utmost importance. From it it appears that both he and President Wilson are working for the same ends. On a few issues they do not hold precisely the same language; but, for that matter, Lloyd George does not hold the same language which he himself has used on former occasions. He frankly admits that the lapse of time and changing circumstances have compelled him to change his attitude. One has but to glance back to the note of the Allies to President Wilson of less than a year ago—January 10, 1917—to see how much more moderate and attainable are their war aims to-day. The change is in great part due to the line since taken by the Government of the United States. The old talk of an economic boycott after the war is no longer heard. President Wilson made an end of that. He made it certain that there will not be "a veiled war," in Mr. Asquith's phrase, after the war. He is also followed by Lloyd George in the matter of disclaiming any purpose to break up the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This is a marked change since the Allies spoke, last January, of their intention to free "Czechs and Slovaks from *foreign domination*." In several other respects, Lloyd George's speech indicates a great advance in reasonableness and a conciliatory spirit over anything that has previously come from him—and is in notable contrast to his knock-out-blow interview of September 28, 1916. And its remarkable, even enthusiastic, endorsement by the English press, as by Labor leaders, shows that his utterance is one for which the British people have been longing.

The British Prime Minister was ostensibly addressing the delegates of the labor unions. Over their heads he was really speaking to his allies, to the United States, and, as he himself said, to the whole world. That would include Count Czernin. In fact, Lloyd George was making a reply to the general terms of peace laid down by the Austrian Foreign Minister at Brest-Litovsk. He, in his turn, was nominally addressing the Russians. In reality, his message was for the Allies. Now, in their behalf, Lloyd George makes a rejoinder. He did not go to Brest-Litovsk. He spoke in London. But it was just as direct a response to Count Czernin as if he had gone in person, with plenipotentiary powers, to make it. In effect, therefore, the peace negotiations have already begun. It will next be for Germany to answer Lloyd George. The great thing is that the exchange of peace views has been started. The method is unusual; it may prove slow and awkward; but at least we have it in operation. Sooner or later, it will reveal the essential consensus of views among the enemies of Germany, and will force the German Government at last to lay the full truth before the German people, and let the whole world know whether it is, after all, determined not to agree to a democratic peace.

We fully acknowledge the difficulties. There are veritable lions still in the way of an honorable and righteous peace—and Americans want no other. Many minds are oppressed by what appears to be the inescapable dilemma. We are fighting for a victory over Prussian militarism, yet if we get a negotiated peace it would be with the Prussian militarists. "Where," asks the *Westminster Gazette*, "can we find a guarantee that such a peace will be respected by an enemy who has not been crushed and who has given us every reason to doubt his good faith?" The one answer is the "material guarantee of disarmament." The League of Nations would get us over many of what appear to be the insurmountable obstacles, and give us, not only the "covenanted peace" which President Wilson has said the United States desires, but "a real and permanent reconstruction of the world order."

The Real Red-Tapers

CONGRESSIONAL investigators, now having their fling in Washington, make a guileless exhibition of themselves. They come forward with impatient demands that "red tape" be cut. But the moment they discover a Food Administrator, or a member of the Council of National Defence, who has actually slashed through the red tape and got things done, they level at him an accusing finger and sternly exclaim: "That was illegal." They go on to inform the gentleman who has proceeded vigorously, but irregularly, that he really ought to be put in jail for what he has done. This is the pretty Congressional way of "encouraging the others."

Who is it that has insisted upon swathing Government business in red tape? Congress. By minute statutes, jealously guarding the expenditure of every dollar, by rules and regulations spun out into a spider-web, by immemorial custom acquiring the force of law, administrative agents have been for years cabined, cribbed, confined. And it is under the dead weight and terror of such a system that officials are expected to exhibit the highest qualities of energy, dash, and disregard of conventionalities, with the noble "get-there" spirit. Congress has gone upon the theory that every disbursing officer, every purchasing agent of the Government, is presumptively dishonest, and will steal or pilfer or graft unless an elaborate system of paper espion-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

age and regulative detail is placed before him like a barbed-wire entanglement. And now Congress looks upon its own creation and sees that it is *not* good.

There is nothing new in the disclosures of choking red tape now being made. The results brought out are only what have steadily been predicted by experts who have looked carefully into the Government Circumlocution Office. In recent years there have been many reports in the interest of economy and efficiency in the Government service. Several of these have struck at this very matter of needless red tape. They have shown the incredible and fantastic piling up of petty manœuvres in order to get the smallest thing done. If a clerk in the Treasury wants a new stick of sealing wax, the process of getting it requires two or three days of requisitions and initialling and O.K.ing. In Chesterton's gibe at unbusinesslike big business, he speaks ironically of the deep satisfaction which must be felt by the customer whose order goes awry, at the immense organization and the large number of employees necessary to make such blunders. Something like that must be one's feeling at the wonderful examples of how not to do it which are coming these days out of Washington.

As we say, all these matters, all these hindrances to the swift dispatch of Government business, have again and again been brought to the attention of Congress. Report after report has been fired at its head. President after President has sought to induce Congress to reform its budget, to cut the red tape out of its appropriation bills—in a word, to modernize Government business methods. But Congress has turned a deaf ear. Methods good enough for 1812 are good enough for 1918. Why distinguish between the processes of a corner grocery and a great department store? We would not lay the blame exclusively upon Congress. There has been a general popular inertia and indifference in all this affair of Government red tape. But now that the glare of war has thrown the defects and dangers of the old system into high relief, the opportunity to press for a reform ought not to be lost. Congress is evidently stirred by what has come out; but what is to be feared is that it will legislate against red tape by providing a lot of new red tape. Trouble with ordnance and munitions, it will be said by some, can be cured by creating a new member of the Cabinet, and surrounding him with a network of restrictive statutes. The true hope of improvement lies in the fact that the country is now looking on and getting a vivid sense of who are the real red-tapers.

The War and the Propertied Classes

EVERY dispatch from Great Britain confirms the impression of growing industrial discontent and of a coming economic upheaval at the end of the war. It is not that the British worker is unpatriotic, or that there is any weakening of his purpose to see the war through to a democratic peace. But he does not propose to fight for imperialistic ends or to make some people rich, and he does intend to demand a reckoning for his sacrifices when the war is over. Americans have little idea how far-reaching his demands are. Thus, a sub-committee of the Executive Committee of the Labor party has just submitted a report demanding the universal enforcement of a national minimum wage, the democratic control of industry through Government ownership, the nationalization of all land, the abolition of the House of Lords, the rejection of conscription as a national policy after the war, and the removal of all war-time restrictions on freedom of speech and publication. Admitting that these demands mean no less than a new social order, the representatives of labor couple them with a declaration against increase of territory as a result of the war, and against an economic war on Germany. As if this were not bad enough, at the forthcoming conference of the Labor party on January 29, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, one of the most powerful trade unions in Great Britain, will present a resolution declaring that the method of financing the war has given the rich excessive profits and a constantly increasing claim on the national income after the war. It will call on the Government "to impose at once a levy of 25 per cent. on the whole capital wealth of the country, to be levied on all persons in possession of more than £1,000, to be followed by further levies for the purpose of extinguishing the national debt and compelling the rich classes to repay to the nation the wealth which they have acquired, not in return for service rendered, but as the result of an unjust and vicious economic system."

This astounding demand for a capital levy will appear to most Americans a hare-brained Socialist scheme; yet it is receiving sympathetic consideration in responsible quarters. An important labor deputation recently called on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to demand such a levy. Mr. Bonar Law, who certainly cannot be accused of excessive radicalism, stated in reply that he did not think the idea impracticable or economically unsound. While he declared against such a programme during the war, yet, according to one dispatch, he practically pledged its adoption on the return of peace. Small wonder that the *Spectator* wrings its hands and offers to put up with an income tax of 95 per cent., if necessary, provided only that accumulated capital be spared. Sir Thomas Taylor in the *Contemporary Review* roundly declares that "no more insidiously pro-German and anti-British campaign could be waged than to spread the idea that any British Government would confiscate a living man's capital,"—which surely does not mean that Britain's capitalists love their capital more than they love freedom from the menace of German militarism. Mr. Bonar Law has been sharply called to account by his friends, but he does not recant his heresy, declaring only that the Government will not repudiate its debt and "will not discriminate in favor of those who have withheld their money from the state at a time when its needs were greatest." But nobody has suggested that the British Government would do either thing. The question is whether it will carry taxation to the point of partial capital confiscation, and this Mr. Bonar Law substantially accepts as a necessary Government policy.

It is not to be supposed that a politician of Bonar Law's antecedents has willingly come to any such position. He has been forced to it by the growing political power of labor and its increasing economic radicalism, as labor's peace terms have clearly helped to formulate Lloyd George's terms. The Bolsheviki are in the saddle in Russia, Scheidemann and Südekum sit in the seats of the mighty at Berlin, France has seen Cabinets rise and fall at the word of the Socialists, and the British Ministry has held its power only by endless concessions to labor. Lloyd George's next

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to last speech ended: "The Government after mature reflection have decided to go first to the trade unions and afterward to the House of Commons to ask them to equip us with greater powers to enable us to increase the means of victory." First to the trade unions, and then to the House of Commons—the order is significant! It must not be forgotten that the new Labor party is to include not only the Socialists, but likewise the trade unionists and the coöperative organizations of the United Kingdom. These groups collectively include almost three-fifths of the entire British population, and their power has been multiplied overnight by the new franchise law. It is the disquieting radicalism of this combination that has forced the hand of the Government and wrung from Lloyd George his moderate peace terms and from the Chancellor of the Exchequer a declaration that would have been inconceivable three years and a half ago.

The fact that most of these labor proposals are economically unsound is unfortunately likely to disturb their proponents very little. The war has shown the possibility of some schemes that were declared "economically impossible," and these labor equalitarians are little likely to hesitate at trying another experiment, as they can see no other way of paying the debt that the war has placed upon the shoulders of themselves and their children. It is to be hoped that the wisdom of the economists may help guide any experiments undertaken, but the war has clearly given British labor a power, a temper, and a point of view that bode ill for some cherished property rights. There have not been wanting critics to interpret Lansdowne's letter as a plea for peace before these revolutionary forces should have stripped the noble lord and his class of all their privileges. At best they can even now hope for little more than wise concessions on both sides in building the new after-war industrial structure; they cannot be hoping to retain their old rights.

Our own country has but entered the struggle; yet President Wilson has already journeyed to Buffalo to address the American Federation of Labor. Are the propertied classes here prepared to release the labor genie from his bottle in order to get his help in winning the war? If so, they must be ready to see him turn his new freedom to his own purposes, just as his brother in Britain is doing. If our well-to-do citizens are wise enough to profit by the British experience, they will not demand a march to Berlin, but will seek the earliest peace that is compatible with the righteous aims so well formulated by the President, lest they invite a social revolution such as seems even now to be threatening Britain as soon as the war ends. While the war lasts, they will take from the back of labor all the load that they can carry themselves, pay war costs, so far as possible, out of their own incomes, and reduce their own consumption to a minimum, instead of merely preaching economy to the poor. They will cheerfully pay excess profits taxes, not of twenty and thirty per cent., but of ninety and a hundred. They will recognize that the winning of this war without paying for it by a social revolution demands that they sacrifice, not alone their sons, but their substance as well. And at the settlement they will demand disarmament, not universal service and a huge navy; for that way lies red ruin for them. Militarism and its inevitable product, war, have apparently dug the grave of the old propertied order. Shall the propertied classes of the United States fall into the pit?

Socialism After the War

THAT the great conflict will leave the world a Socialistic world is admitted even by Socialists. This is not epigram, but matter-of-fact. Two years ago Socialists all over the world were holding funeral orations and post-mortems over the corpse of the Internationale. The demise was supposed to have occurred in the first week of August, 1914, which witnessed millions of Socialists in arms marching towards mutual slaughter, in spite of the international fraternity of labor, in spite of solemn discussions of the general strike as an automatic check upon war, in spite of the ancient slogan about the workers without a country and with no true cause but the class war. What more logical than the tragic inference that Socialism was dead because the war had uncovered its pretensions? What more justifiable than the prophecy that the betrayed and disillusioned masses would turn upon Socialism and rend it? Only it happened that the wailers over the bier erred just as much in being too logical with Socialism dead as they had been too vigorously logical in prophesying for Socialism alive. Were the mass of humanity really actuated by the laws of the syllogism, the Socialist Internationale should indeed have died. But the people of Russia were not logical when they rose to Socialism under the misery of three years of war; and the German masses have refused to be logical when they make the Socialist party the organ of their bitter discontent; and in Great Britain and in France and in this country people have chosen to forget how thoroughly Socialism "died" in August, 1914.

But if Russia, by a single miraculous gesture, has brought to life the Lazarus of revolutionary Socialism, there has been growing up, through the impulse of war, another, a milder, constructive Socialism. It is the Socialism of exalted state authority, of Government ownership and control, of taxation that before the war would have been regarded as confiscation. By its demand for unparalleled efforts and unparalleled sacrifices, the war has become altogether too big a task for the genius or will power of a man, or even a class. It has become a war of nations in the sense that it has mobilized virtually every man, woman, and child, but even more in the sense that it has mobilized not so much the nations' capacity for effort as their capacity for sacrifice. Thus something more than expediency will explain the astonishing equanimity with which people in this country not only accept the Government management of railways for the duration of the war, but speak of the state ownership of railways, mines, and public utilities after the war. An unformulated sense of justice enters into this state of mind. On the one hand, our present system of individual effort has proved unequal to the task imposed by the war. On the other hand, the masses have not only proved themselves equal to the task, but have met the emergency less through efficiency than through sacrifice. They have established a moral claim, as well as a practical argument, for what in general terms we call Socialism.

It behooves us to recall that once before prophecy based upon logic has failed in the case of Socialism. In the winter of 1914 Socialism, logically, was dead. In the winter of 1917-18 Socialism, logically, seems destined to carry everything before it. Aside from the peril involved in sweeping prophecy of any kind, doubts arise when we see the future of Socialism assumed so easily without any at-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BALDWIN-WALLACE

tempt at defining the kind of Socialism we mean. "Socialism" to-day means Government ownership of railways in the United States and the progress of Bolshevikism in Russia. But do people stop to compare the Socialism of Government ownership with the Socialism of Lenine and Trotzky? When we speak complacently of the breakdown of individualism and the advent of coöperation, do we compare the centralized coöperation of state ownership with the decentralized coöperation of the Russian communists?

Lenine and Trotzky are parcelling out the Russian territory and sacrificing national efficiency to local and individual liberty. The fact is that what we are now beginning to call Socialism, namely, the exaltation of the state, has long been denounced by radical Socialists as "State Capitalism." Not all the Government ownership in the world, according to this view, would be Socialism if government remained in the hands of the few. Hence the demand for the democratization of government, for the establishment of opportunities that should give the sons of the coal-digger and the mine-owner an equal chance to rise to the place of Director-General of Railways under Government ownership. But to Lenine and Trotzky even this "democratization" of Government is no guarantee. Wherever there is enormous concentration of power, whether in capitalistic ownership or Government ownership, the few will succeed in exploiting the many. The remedy is in the decentralization of power. Just as the Bolsheviki have found it necessary to shatter the discipline of the army in order to prevent the rise of a Napoleon, so they envisage the necessity of decentralizing the entire social and economic scheme to safeguard the interests of the common man. Between this Socialism and the Socialism to which we are reconciling ourselves in this country there is a fairly important distinction.

"Recalled to Life"

FROM the quarterly of this title which Lord Charnwood has established in London for the study of the reëducation and the return to active life of disabled soldiers and sailors, it is possible now to glean figures showing the magnitude of the task. We are told that of every 1,000 men returned as unfit for further service, 453 are rendered so by injuries and 547 by disease. Thirty-two in the thousand have wholly or partially lost their sight; 49 have lost an arm or leg; 264 have had serious injuries to these limbs, or to the hand; about 50 have been injured in the head, and about 60 have suffered miscellaneous hurts. Of the diseased, the largest total, 124, is accounted for by ailments of the chest, about half being tubercular; the second largest, 110, by diseases of the heart; the third, 67, by what may be called nervous troubles, of which 11 are cases of epilepsy and 9 of insanity. When we reflect that the last fifteen months have given the Empire a million dead or injured alone, we can understand that British facilities for refitting men for self-maintenance are sadly taxed. In the last issue Lord Charnwood declares his conclusion that any complete system of repair is not possible, because the needed institutions cannot be set up, the supply of skilled men for staffing them is limited, and the knowledge of curative and instructional methods imperfect. It is worth asking if America is ready to profit rapidly from what progress Britain and other nations have made.

The British provision for restoration is well in advance of that of her allies in both administration and institutional facilities. The nation has its separate Ministry of Pensions, which France has not, and has drawn up a liberal pension scheme. A totally disabled man who formerly earned 80 shillings weekly will receive 65 from the Government, with 10 more if nursing is necessary; a man who once earned 100 shillings weekly and is left able to earn only 20 will receive 55 shillings additional. The Government is responsible for the provision of artificial limbs, and is making systematic inquiry into labor needs. The National Committee, which through district sub-committees helps the pension officers take care of the sightless man when he leaves his bed, the legless man when he buckles on his cork limb, is partly official and partly voluntary, and is supported by contributed funds and Parliamentary grants. Some of the military hospitals now offer instruction to released men, but Lord Charnwood dislikes the hospital atmosphere for them. The best work is being done by special institutions like the Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops, established just after the South African War and now with branches all over Great Britain; the Cowen Home for Disabled Soldiers and Sailors at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Sir Arthur Pearson's famous St. Dunstan's and allied hospitals, where hundreds of blind are under training together; the Star and Garter Hospital at Richmond; Queen Mary's Hospital, the ten special "shock" hospitals, and so on, all supplemented by the technical schools of the United Kingdom. Compulsory reëducation before military discharge has been urged, in view of the fact that the present high demand for labor offers work at high wages to half-disabled and unskilled men who will later lose it; but Lord Charnwood opposes such compulsion.

So small a war as the Franco-Prussian left a litter of mendicants. What can save Europe from a vast multiplication of the down-and-out is a junction of the increasing variety of occupations and the increasing capacity of instructional science to rouse latent ability, with desperately earnest Government effort. Inquiry in a British Government hospital for men with amputations has shown that about half of those in a position to consider carefully do not feel able to go back to their old occupations. This is especially the case with the armless. But they need not try to. Roehampton has turned a master chimney-sweep into a clerk, and an electro-plater into a commercial instructor. It has converted a warehouseman, a regular, and an outfitter's assistant into chauffeurs. A brass-finisher and a gardener have just become switchboard attendants, and a shopkeeper and a farm-laborer prosperous cinema operators. It is so infinitely to the profit of the state thus to reduce the pension and charitable rolls and crime lists that no effort should be spared. The exchange of information as to opportunities for employment among various districts, and especially between country and city, is an important part of the work; for men suffering from nervous ills particularly demand the open air, and men with grievous bodily injuries cannot often perform heavy manual labor. It seems strange that this repairing and distributing process was never before really undertaken by any Government; in Massachusetts alone it has been expertly estimated that from 500 to 1,500 men became unemployable in their old work yearly through industrial accident. But for that matter, no nation has yet an adequate chain of tuberculosis sanatoria.

In midsummer the American Red Cross announced the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

establishment of an Institute for Crippled Soldiers and Sailors in New York city through a gift of $50,000 by Jeremiah Milbank. In Chicago the Wesley Hospital has been offered to the War Department as a "reconstructional hospital," and the Central Free Dispensary has broached plans of coöperation with the local industries; in other cities hospitals and schools will be provided. Several months ago a contingent of orthopædic experts arrived in London to study and to assist in the refitting of cripples. If the war continues, the work will assume a large scope here, and ought to be put upon a basis helpful to peaceful industrial society afterwards.

How Our Army in France Can Avoid the Menace of Tuberculosis*

By S. ADOLPHUS KNOPF, M.D.

IN two remarkable articles, published in the *Survey* of May, 1917, and in the *Evening Post* of December 22, Dr. Hermann M. Biggs gives some alarming figures on tuberculosis in France. "The number of soldiers," he says, "discharged from the French army because of tuberculosis has been estimated at about 150,000." To this number Dr. Biggs adds 1½ per cent. of cases of the disease in various stages in the active army, which would make 20,000 more cases. In addition to these two groups, there are 110,000 active cases in the civilian population of France, besides the unnumbered thousands among French prisoners, military and civil, still in Germany, who, because of privation and want, physical and mental suffering, have fallen victims to the disease. I am inclined to agree with Dr. Biggs that in all probability half a million cases of tuberculosis will have to be dealt with in France after the war.

While we hope and pray that the war may not last long, and that a victorious peace for the Allies may soon be concluded, we must bear in mind that many of our own boys now are and many more will be in France, and that we must do everything possible to protect them from the risks of tuberculosis. We should impart to the American soldiers in the field and also to our French brethren in arms as much knowledge as possible concerning tuberculosis, its causes and prevention, so that they may be able victoriously to fight this insidious and invisible enemy, just as they are fighting the visible powers which have plunged the world into the present indescribable catastrophe.

Fortunately, the experience of the past twenty-five years has taught us much that can be done to protect the individual from contracting tuberculosis. We now know the character of the disease. We have instituted popular anti-tuberculosis education. Through the training of young physicians in the early diagnosis of tuberculosis, timely recognition of the disease has been made more nearly universal. Lastly, proper hospital and sanatorium provision for the cure and care of those afflicted with the disease has been made by nearly all the American municipalities. These means of prevention and cure have made the United States rank next to England as the country with the lowest tuberculosis morbidity and mortality of all the great nations of the world; and we must see to it that our soldiers have the simple information needful to guard them against this dread disease.

Every soldier should know that pulmonary tuberculosis is a chronic, infectious, communicable, preventable, and curable disease. In characterizing the disease I have replaced the word "contagious" by the word "communicable," because contact *per se*, that is to say, touching the tuberculous, does not convey the disease, as is the case with smallpox, for example. If the tuberculous patient is careful in the disposal of his expectoration and in the manner of coughing, he is as safe an individual to associate with as anybody else. Such a one should never be shunned, but always treated kindly, considerately, and with compassion.

The direct cause of tuberculosis, or consumption, is always the bacillus of tuberculosis, which is a microscopic organism found in the affected parts of the body. Pulmonary tuberculosis, or tuberculosis of the lung, is the type of tuberculosis most commonly found, and the type with which the French soldiers are now so frequently afflicted. All other organs of the body (bones, intestines, etc.) can also become affected with tuberculosis.

The word tuberculosis comes from tubercle, which signifies a small rounded body, resembling a pin head and easily visible to the naked eye. The bacilli are lodged in these tubercles, of which they cause the formation. These germs give off certain poisonous substances called toxins which cause the symptoms of pulmonary tuberculosis, early as well as late. The earlier symptoms, which can be easily recognized by the layman, are a long-continued cough with or without expectoration or hoarseness, loss of flesh, flush or pallor in the face, feverish sensations in the afternoon, occasional night sweats, chilly sensations in the morning, loss of appetite, sometimes a little streak of blood in the expectoration, loss of strength manifesting itself in easy tiring, frequent colds, a perceptible quickening of the heart beats after slight exertion, a little change in disposition, such as an increased irritability or a feeling of depression.

The three methods by which the germ may enter the human system are by inhalation, ingestion, and inoculation. The main method of contracting tuberculosis is by inhaling dried, infectious tuberculous dust floating in the air coming from carelessly deposited sputum. Whoever coughs and

*This article is a revised presentation of an address delivered by invitation before the American Public Health Association at its last session in Washington, in October, 1917, and published by authority of the Surgeon-General in a number of medical journals in the United States and Canada. Prof. William H. Welch, Dean of Johns Hopkins Medical School, says of the original address: "Everything possible must be done to protect our soldiers from the risks of tuberculosis, and I believe that the public may be assured that this will be done. Undoubtedly the education of the individual soldier is an important part of these efforts, and your address is an important contribution to this end." Surgeon-General Blue, of the United States Public Health Service, has suggested that this information should appear in pamphlet form in a vest-pocket edition for our soldiers, while Mary C. Nelson, one of our most experienced tuberculosis nurses, now working in France as head nurse of the Rockefeller Tuberculosis Commission, suggests the publication of the article in English and French together, to be given to every American soldier now in France. Some of the division surgeons of our camps have asked for several thousand copies. The United States Printing Bureau in Washington is overwhelmed with work and cannot undertake anything additional at this time. Will not some philanthropist come forward and place at the disposal of our Government the funds for the printing and widest possible distribution of such an information pamphlet?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

expectorates, whether it be in the trenches, dugouts, barracks, tents, armories, or other confined places, should endeavor not to deposit the sputum where it has a chance to dry up, unless it can be where exposure to direct sunlight will render it harmless. When a person coughs, let him always hold his hand before his mouth. He will thereby avoid infecting others by inhalation-infection or droplet-infection if he should happen to be afflicted with tuberculosis, influenza, measles, or even an ordinary cold. By droplet infection is understood that manner of conveying the disease by the spray of small particles (droplets) of infectious saliva during the so-called dry cough or even sneezing, and in some individuals during excited speaking.

Against the danger of tuberculous food in the form of infected milk or meat, sterilizing or boiling the milk and thoroughly cooking or broiling the meat suffice for all practical purposes. Eating and drinking utensils should never be "swapped," and they should always be thoroughly cleaned before use. To protect one's self against getting tuberculous inoculation from any skin wound or scratch, it is best to let the wound bleed freely so as to wash away any infectious substances and then use a clean piece of cheesecloth or muslin, dipped in hot water or alcohol, and tie up the wound until surgical aid can be obtained.

Numerous as are the causes whereby tuberculosis may be contracted, more is needed to contract tuberculosis than the accidental inhalation of a few tuberculous germs or the occasional ingestion of tuberculous food. In good health the human system is provided with various means of defence against the invasion of the tuberculosis bacilli, such as the mucous membrane of the nose which has a germ-killing property, the white blood corpuscles which in health are always active in destroying the dangerous bacteria that may have entered the body, and the secretions of the stomach, to which also must be ascribed bacteria-killing properties.

In order to contract tuberculosis in the ways before mentioned, there must be the conditions in which the tuberculosis germs can grow, or, in other words, one must be predisposed either by heredity or acquisition. This predisposition can be inherited when the mother was tuberculous at the time of pregnancy, but the inheritance in turn may have been overcome because of the good care bestowed upon the child. Many such a one has grown up strong and well, and if he has not had tuberculosis by the time he has reached military age, and no disease has been discovered by the recruiting surgeon, he may safely consider himself free from danger of developing tuberculosis if he leads what might be simply called a normal healthy life.

The predisposition to tuberculosis may be acquired through having had certain diseases which often leave the system in a weakened condition: among them are measles, whooping-cough, typhus and typhoid fever, grippe, chronic bronchitis, pleurisy, pneumonia, and all venereal diseases. Privation, want of food, lack of air and sunlight, insufficient clothing, and the prolonged inhalation of irritating substances, as well as over-fatigue and lack of sleep, may also make the system susceptible to tuberculosis. Excessive smoking, especially of cigarettes when the smoke is inhaled, is apt to injure the respiratory system and make it more susceptible to disease, to weaken the action of the heart, impair the function of the nervous system, and lessen the general efficiency. One who has never smoked would better not acquire the habit. One of the greatest predisposing causes to tuberculosis is the excessive use and abuse of alcoholic drink. When the alcoholic contracts tuberculosis, the outlook for a cure is not nearly so favorable as in a man of temperate habits. Patients recovering from the above-mentioned diseases should be particularly careful to avoid prolonged contact with tuberculous individuals.

The soldier in the field can do much for himself to guard against becoming predisposed to tuberculosis. Besides refraining from the use of liquor, strong alcoholic drinks, and from all other excesses, he should, as far as possible, eat regularly, keep his body clean, and rest when he can so as to avoid over-fatigue. He should keep his bowels in good condition and drink plenty of good, pure water. He should also try to clean his teeth after meals whenever this is feasible. When his garments have become wet from rain or snow, he should not lie down and sleep in them if this can possibly be avoided, and he should be equally careful not to lie down on the moist ground without sufficient protection. But, of course, on the firing line and in trenches and dugouts these precautions cannot often be carried out, and one must do the best one can.

If the air in the dugouts and trenches seems to be vitiated, that is to say, foul and lacking oxygen, whenever the circumstances will permit the soldier should go where the air is pure and take some deep breathing exercises. The simplest one of all is to inhale deeply through the nose, raising the shoulders during the act of inhalation, moving them backward and remaining in that position, retaining the air for about five or six seconds, and then to exhale a trifle more quickly while moving the shoulders forward and downward. This exercise may be taken from six to eight times, and, if convenient, repeated after half an hour or an hour.

If the dugouts and trenches can be ventilated so as to admit fresh air, this should by all means be done. In tents and barracks and all other sleeping quarters the soldier should, of course, make it his business to see that there is plenty of ventilation. Fresh air by day and by night is the best preventive as well as curative agent of this disease.

To prevent the spread of tuberculosis, the soldier should bear in mind the early symptoms which have been described. If he coughs and expectorates, he should gather a specimen of his sputum and take it to the doctor for examination. Meanwhile he should use all the precautions possible, that is to say, spit in a piece of cloth or in a receptacle rendered harmless by some antiseptic fluid like a 5 per cent. carbolic acid solution, which he should empty into the trench latrine or drain. During the cough he should hold his hand before his mouth, and he should never swallow his expectoration. These precautions about expectoration should be especially observed when soldiers, after leaving the trenches temporarily or permanently, are billeted in peasants' houses in villages or citizens' homes in city or town.

If the soldier perceives any of the symptoms earlier described, he need not think at once that he has tuberculosis, but it is his duty as a soldier to report his condition immediately to the surgeon in charge of his company. He will then be carefully examined and proper care will be taken of him. If the ailment is not tuberculosis, the examination will demonstrate this; if it is tuberculosis, the early diagnosis and timely treatment will save the individual's life, for it should be known that of all the chronic diseases human flesh is heir to none offers so favorable a chance for cure as does pulmonary tuberculosis if discovered early.

Provided with this education concerning the prevention

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of tuberculosis, neither the American soldier in France nor his loved ones at home need greatly fear his contracting the disease, in spite of its alarming frequency among the civilian and military population of France. Even before the war the death-rate from tuberculosis was twice as high in France as in New York city; while in France there were, in each year, three deaths from tuberculosis per thousand of population, in New York there were only one and a half per thousand. France had to mobilize a great army and had to do it quickly. The thorough physical examination so essential for the discovery of tuberculosis could not be made, and thus many a young man strongly predisposed had to enter the army in defence of his country. While military life even in trenches and dugouts may be conducive to the increase of strength and vigor in the normal and healthy individual, the stress and strain of the soldier's life in war time, long marches, life in trenches and dugouts, and the actual work on the firing line, will develop an active tuberculosis in the strongly predisposed or in those already afflicted with incipient tuberculosis, and often at an alarmingly rapid rate.

This must be the explanation for the great frequency of tuberculosis among the fighting soldiers of France. All the sad conditions which predispose the individual to tuberculosis either by heredity or custom, and those which are acquired through privation, want, lack of food and air, and through physical and mental suffering, have combined to increase the number of tuberculous individuals throughout the civilian population of that country. Fortunately for the American soldier, his early training in the love of fresh air and the use of cold water on his body have made him naturally more resistant to the disease, and to the honor of our military surgeons it must be said that the examinations at the recruiting offices are most thorough, so that those who are strongly predisposed to tuberculosis, or already afflicted with the disease in the incipient stage, are weeded out. The examination is repeated after a few months' training so as to make sure that no tuberculous invalid is in active service. Yet the possibility that some of our soldiers may develop tuberculosis must be admitted; but even should this occur, if the American boy now serving under arms in France will remember his obligation to his comrades, to himself, to his country, and to his allies, and will take the simple precautions here suggested, he will not be in great danger of the disease and will be well taken care of if he should get it.

But the American soldier now in France can also do a good deal to help in the fight against tuberculosis and diminish its frequency among his French comrades as well as in the civilian population with whom he may come in contact. Most French people and not a few Americans still fear the night air and are too much afraid of draughts, believing them to be most dangerous and the cause of catching cold. First of all, the practice of sleeping with the windows open at night in winter as well as summer should be taught by example, by word of mouth, and by printed instructions; but in France this must be done with tact so as not to offend. People should be made to realize that night air is as good as day air, and even purer, for as a rule there is less traffic, less commotion, and less dust in the air at night. Draughts are dangerous to the individual only when he has perspired and the pores of his skin are open; at all other times draughts are beneficial, since air currents and winds tend to purify the atmosphere. Under ordinary conditions colds are not contracted from draughts, but are due to infection just as much as is tuberculosis.

Another way in which the American soldier may help the French in combating tuberculosis is by helping overcome the prejudice so common in France against drinking water. Next to fresh air there is no greater factor in keeping a man well and strong than a plentiful ingestion of pure water. A moderate quantity (about a glassful) with meals and two glasses between meal times is most conducive to good health.

The Rockefeller Foundation has sent to France a Tuberculosis Commission composed of expert diagnosticians, sanitarians, and trained nurses under the leadership of Prof. Livingston Farrand, the former executive secretary of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis. They will combine with the American Red Cross and the French authorities to do all that can be done for the French civilian population. From Colonel Dercle, of the Medical Department of the French army, now attached to the Surgeon-General's office in Washington, I have learned that heroic efforts are being made to provide hospital and sanatorium facilities for the tuberculous of the French army. It is therefore my hope that through all these agencies and the knowledge of how to protect one's self and others from contracting the disease, a knowledge which should become the property of every American and French soldier, the tuberculosis situation in France may be speedily ameliorated.

Prevention is better than cure, but we must also be prepared ere long to receive back some of our boys who may have contracted tuberculosis and must be prepared to cure them. Many of our private and municipal sanatoria have offered to receive and care for any American soldier who may return home having contracted tuberculosis on the field of honor. We hope that there may be fewer tuberculous invalids in need of sanatorium treatment among our soldiers than are found among the same number of the civilian population; but at all events the American public may rest assured that our American soldiers now fighting in France who may contract tuberculosis will receive the best and most scientific treatment known to the medical profession to-day.

Lastly, one more word of hope for the future. What may we look for regarding the tuberculosis problem in all civilized countries after the successful issue of this war of democracy against autocracy? The Power which upheld the maxim Might makes Right, which, disregarding the will of the people, plunged them into a war of indescribable horror, will be dethroned and banished. There will be a united Europe as there is a united America. When democracy shall be universal, the countless millions of dollars which the warring nations now have to sacrifice for weapons of destruction will be devoted to purposes of construction. Tuberculosis, which is as much a social as a medical disease, will decrease with the betterment of the social conditions of the masses, and medical science, now in the main devoted to healing the wounds of war, can then once more devote its energies to the prevention of disease. All other sciences now utilized for war will likewise be consecrated to the advancement of human happiness and health, and with these blessings attained, tuberculosis, the great white plague and enemy of mankind, will gradually disappear.

The Editors hope to be able to publish another article by Dr. Knopf, now in preparation, on the subject "Pneumonia in the United States Army in War Time and What May be Done to Decrease Its Frequency and Severity."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Case for French Scholarship

By FERNAND BALDENSPERGER
(Professor in the Sorbonne)

INFORMATION concerning French efforts and attainments in the domain of scholarship seems to have greatly increased, in this country, since the days when the *Columbia University Quarterly*, 1903, published Prof. Adolphe Cohn's advice on "Opportunities for University Study in France," or when Barrett Wendell's "France of To-day" threw a new light upon French intellectual activities. More recently, the *Waverley Magazine*, reprinting in 1908 Professor Geddes's valuable article on "Educational Advantages for American Students in France," added a great deal of information to the knowledge of the question. The present volume,* by its importance, brings to a close what may be called the period of preliminary inquiry.

Apart from its value as a guide-book to seats of learning in France, Dean Wigmore's compilation deserves notice. Resulting from the coöperation of numerous American scholars, it amounts to a collective manifestation, especially welcome to those who tried long ago to bring about a better understanding between this country and France. I apologize for being here the commentator, for appearing as "judge and party"—if only to a small extent—in this important cause. But, for those who have closely watched the evolution of German thought in the last decades, it is a kind of duty to draw the line between what is beneficial and what is dangerous, in the very principles on which modern scholarship rests and works.

I

"La science n'a pas de patrie, mais le savant en a une." This saying of Louis Pasteur's has been the very motto of the scientific world. The men interested in research were more or less national, even provincial, in their habits, states of mind, and sympathies; their aims and methods, however, their attainments and curiosities, constituted one large and wide complex, indifferent to frontiers, and transmissible all over the world in spite of national barriers. Pasteur himself, so sensitive about patriotism that he always refused German orders and distinctions, never failed to emphasize, in scientific congresses, the international character and value of Science. With art, finance, labor organization, much more than religion and travel, science seemed to be one of the great cosmopolitan forces of the hour.

The present war, which compels every nation, not only to a concentration of forces, but to a sort of "examen de conscience," has partly overthrown our former suppositions. Science was, in Germany, "self-centred" to a degree which has become evident; national complacency or state-obedience has been the background of much scientific work beyond the Rhine. Generally speaking, some definite theories, more or less directly associated with egocentrist aims, sprang distinctively out of certain habits of thought. To ascertain to what degree those mental characteristics have their responsibility in the framing of the ordinary German of today will certainly be, in the future, a curious matter of investigation. There was, in spite of Pasteur's saying, a *German* science.

Is there, as well, a French science of the same kind? French, not only because it sums up the works of French scientists, or possibly because it expresses distinct qualities of clarity, of pleasanter exposition and more lucid form, but because definite tendencies are to be found here rather than elsewhere? And if such is the case, are those characteristics, even if "national" to some extent, to be considered as more serviceable than German characteristics to the world at large? That question is naturally suggested by the publication in these days of a book like Dean Wigmore's.

II

Having no qualification for attempting it, I leave it to better authority to decide whether French natural science is subject, on the whole, to reproofs similar to those deserved, it now seems, by many prominent German scientists. M. Caullery has shown recently, in a paper on "Ernst Haeckel et son évolution," that this master of German biology tried expressly to adapt some of his previous scientific views to the necessities of state-worship: new editions of former works of his bear witness to this readjustment. Vernon Kellogg, in his illuminating "Headquarters Nights," has fathomed in the most direct way the currents of thought which animate, in the present hour, scientists in field-gray. The way leading from ethnology and biology to frightfulness and ruthlessness has been more than once explained to the American public. I trust that no Frenchman of renown will ever deserve a similar treatment, and wish to point out that the dangerous "finalism" of German biologists has been constantly denounced by scientists like G. Bohn and others in France, while R. Lote, having made a careful study of the opposition encountered in Germany by Lavoisier, feels inclined to suppose that a mystic "germanism," even in science, pervades many minds who did not succeed in liberating themselves.

The real "sin against the spirit" lies in that attempt to curb, towards a definite aim, the facts given by observation, or to ignore such facts as do not fit into a given theory. It is not so much in its presentation of defective bibliographies or of inadequate material—defects which German science often reproached in others. "Rassemblons des faits pour nous donner des idées" was Buffon's fine sentence: readjustment of ideas seems a greater and more important intellectual operation than mere collection of facts, the filling in of more material, or even the improvement of instruments of research. The curse of "realistic Germany" was here, and it really appears that Charles Eliot Norton's early statement (Dresden, 17 Nov., 1871) was a wonderful prophecy: "The German . . . Nothing that has not material value pleases him. Ideas he despises; facts are his treasure."

I have recently heard a philosopher well known in this country, M. Boutroux, say that the more he studied German metaphysical thought, the more he was under the impression that its process was characterized by a certain insecurity, as if the goal in view were always impressing and disturbing the correct deduction and concatenation of

**Science and Learning in France;* with a survey of opportunities for American students in French universities: an appreciation by American scholars. New York: The Society for American Fellowships in French Universities, 1917.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the various moments in a logical sequence: "setzen," to presuppose, is too often the underlying process of German philosophy. This, too, will have to be closely examined. George Santayana's "Egotism in German Philosophy" has already laid bare some of the more conspicuous results of this logical defect. And it will be worth while to inquire whether the new school of psychology, in Germany and Austria, has not been too much occupied with the abnormal: morbidity appearing to be, in fact, the admitted norm, instead of being a deviation from norm. French psychology, I suppose, would be subject to an exactly contrary reproach, if one considers that the study of the abnormal is still confined to the outskirts, so to say, of philosophy proper.

III

Where the gap between German and French scholarship is evident, where the line of cleavage is most distinct, seems to be in the sciences of the past that once furnished a fine appanage for German learning and candor. The Rev. E. S. Waterhouse, considering in the *Contemporary Review* of August, 1917, "Theology without Germany," pointed out the main defects of recent theological scholarship in that country. Here, again, I feel sure that, whatever their shortcomings may be, investigators like Loisy, Maus, Guignebert are not subject to the same reproach of shortsightedness, fixed idea, or a tendency to adopt a theory hastily, which the Rev. Dr. Waterhouse detects in theology across the Rhine.

Concerning the study of less remote and less special periods of the past, French scholarship may have suffered under the disadvantage of a smaller number of workers in those fields; but so far as thoroughness and critical discrimination are involved, it has satisfied the most difficult tests. Moreover, if definite habits of mind may be detected even in the most impersonal works of learning, then the following statements can justly be made:

(1.) In the study of the past, as revealed in *action*, there is no doubt that French historians are less obsessed with "that hollow toy, the Race," as one of your poets says, than their German colleagues. We know the fallacy in the obsolete and fatalistic idea of ethnological complexes which would account for the great historical movements of the past or the present, for group psychology and for the characteristic features in great men, etc. The German historian is apt, it is true, to go to the other extreme, and to seek the crudest explanations in mere economic conflicts. I remember, for my part, the extraordinary statements made to me by Lamprecht in the autumn of 1907.

A French historical writer seems to bear in mind, more or less consciously, the fact that France attained her national unity earlier and more completely than any European people. Thus he reserves national endeavors rather than the racial or economic tendencies for the background of his observation and judgment upon events of the past. The dismissal of theories such as Gobineau's by clear-sighted Frenchmen like his friend Tocqueville is a very striking fact; and if the two main directions of French historical writing may be considered as evolving either from the inspiration of Michelet or from the method of Fustel de Coulanges, we find at the starting-point of these two directions the same elimination of race-worship. "Oil and sugar," writes Michelet, "consist of the same chemical elements," meaning that no fundamental explanation can be derived from racial peculiarities. And Fustel de Coulanges: "Modern spirit is encumbered with ethnographic theories and carries this inhibition into the study of history." No Frenchman of merit would ever have endorsed the suppositions which, in fact, have led Germany to a sort of racial mania. Apart from some pages where Taine overemphasizes the racial factor among the three elements he tries to investigate each historical fact; consider also Fouillée's "Psychological Sketch of the European Peoples," or Jullian's "Gaul" and Lavisse's "History of France": everywhere the really "dynamic" elements, as Auguste Comte calls the active factors in history, are distinguished from the crude "static" elements of race and physical environment.

(2.) In the study of the past, as revealed in *expression*, the main difference which became more and more distinct between French and German points of view is that German scholarship seems more indifferent to what is personal, individual, voluntary, or original in a work of art, and aims at diminishing—by innumerable quotations, side-light references, an indifferent examination of "variants"—the real peculiarity of this *unicum:* a work of art. Whereas, it is the natural curiosity of a French student to keep in touch with workmanship and technique—all the more as, frequently, the scholar is himself, or has been, somewhat of a poet, a playwright, or a novelist.

This especially comes to light at the present time in the study of mediæval monuments of art or poetry—a quite favorite field of German science for reasons which have to be investigated some day. In the same manner as the Code Napoléon was opposed by German jurists, who played against its "construction" the "common conscience of the people," even so a prevailing custom of German scholarship relegates to the anonymous, collective drudge such a task as French scholarship assigns to an "artist," clumsy or clever, original or dependent, erudite or ignorant. "It is time," wrote J. Bédier, "to replace the mystic symbolism inherited from the brothers Grimm by more concrete notions, more enlightening explanations. . . . A work of art begins with its author and ends with him." In the same mood E. Male writes on religious art: "The mediæval artist was the docile interpreter of great ideas which it took all his genius to comprehend." Even in pure philology, Meillet, instead of blindly sticking to the doctrine of passive so-called "laws" of language (supposed to account for phonetic changes in certain idioms, and, in fact, explaining nothing), tries to discover an explanation for linguistic variations. Owing to such habits of mind, a literary "text" means much more to a French than to a German scholar: to "explain" it is to try to go through the same creative impulse which brought it to life, and not merely to ascertain the grammatical forms which are its external appearance.

Another consequence of these divergent habits of mind is the declining interest taken of late, by German scholarship, in what has been known as "comparative literature," namely, the interrelations of nations in the domains of literary achievements. While no unbiassed Frenchman refuses to recognize the influence exerted on thought, sentiment, or expression by foreign models, yet a celebrated saying of a prominent "philologist" of modern Germany proclaims that "the same spirit exactly pervades the entire body of German literature," from the early attempts down to the songs or the plays of this very hour. This is a poor compliment to the classical monuments of "cosmopolitan" Germany. As a matter of fact, while learned research nearly everywhere was directed towards a mutual acknowledgment of intellec-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tual debts in the past (leading to more intercourse in the near future and to a spiritual "society of nations"), yet recent literary history across the Rhine inclined to minimize all benefits due to foreign examples, making exceptions of such examples only as were borrowed from Germany.

IV

Recent French scholarship has often been insufficiently provided with material equipment. The individualistic tendencies of our students make it difficult to organize the same sort of "standardized" work which a German is always inclined to perform. We have been somewhat provincial, too, in the organization of our student life. But, if science needs, above all, loyalty to true research and to the discovery of more accurate points of view, the French men of science know that they will bear examination. And they believe that they have preserved the better part of some formal qualities attributed to them by universal agreement.

What they have specially neglected has been "advertising," and here is a last line of cleavage. Believing, apparently, that "good wine needs no bush," they have been singularly reticent, rare partakers in international congresses, discreet exploiters of their own new theories. There is, happily enough, no French book corresponding to the "Weltherrschaft des deutschen Geistes," written by a German professor who had made some visits to this country. French scholars will certainly be all the more satisfied with a recognition of their efforts in the American book which has been the occasion of these remarks.

Correspondence

A Derelict Union

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Peccant trustees and presidents of universities may lie down again in safety and take their rest or plot their further nefarious deeds without fear. The American Association of University Professors, at its recent meeting in Chicago, has with simple majesty protested that it is not in the least like a trade union, to which it has been malevolently compared. It has no such selfish aims. It does not exist to advance the interests of its members. It has no concern with procuring justice in the individual case or reparation for the wronged person. Its aim is to establish a body of procedure in the interests of justice for the future.

It might be remarked that justice as a mere abstract virtue is only a figure of speech; the human mind deals solely with justice in individual cases. If the Association has only an academic interest in the specific victim, wise old trustees and presidents will soon come to see in it, despite its voluminous "reports of atrocities," only another sort of organization for passing resolutions.

The Association also, by an almost unanimous vote, adopted the long report of a sub-committee on academic freedom under war conditions, with what was definitely understood to be a distinct approval of the academic penalty of dismissal for any one of several varieties of action or expression offensive in the view not of the national government, but of the immediate employers. The college president would be a poor hand indeed at interpretation who could not find in the midst of that mass of verbiage preliminary justification for any course of disciplinary action that he chose to take. The Association, looked upon as a means for defending and ennobling the profession, seems so shocked at being called a trade union that it is in danger of acquiring a tendency towards prevarication—in the ancient legal sense.

SOCIUS

Chicago, January 2

Christian Science Replies

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of December 20, in a review of a recent publication on New Thought, reference is made to Christian Science as "Eddyan nonsense." Please permit me to point out that quite contrary to the opinion of this critic is the experience of a host of sincere and intelligent men and women who have recovered health and happiness through this healing ministry. Does it not appear that your reviewer has wandered rather far from the well-defined paths of kindliness and charity in so stigmatizing a religious teaching which has brought into human experience such an understanding of God and His immanence as makes Him available to heal and protect and save, whenever a man turns to Him with faith and understanding? Not as nonsense, but as the healing and redeeming Truth, has Christian Science come into the lives of this multitude of grateful people.

On page 106 of "The First Church of Christ, Scientist, and Miscellany," Mrs. Eddy writes: "I admonish Christian Scientists either to speak charitably of all mankind or to keep silent, for love fulfils divine law and without this proof of love mental practice were profitless."

ALBERT F. GILMORE

New York, December 31, 1917

Professors and Freshman Fancies

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Henry L. Mencken has written a new book, "A Book of Prefaces," and a recent reviewer notes that, in the section on the novelist Dreiser, "we find the most bitter contempt for the professors who have cast the novelist out." It appears further that the book attacks "those who distrust new ideas and think of beauty as a 'form of debauchery and corruption.' "

The professor always has the freshman with him, and here it is easy to distinguish the fundamental freshman misconception common to the Dreisers, Menckens, and their kind. They assume that the professor and others who agree with him are opposed to their efforts on moral and puritan grounds. They assume also that they have themselves a feeling for beauty that should command universal admiration. Both of these assumptions are grossly wide of the mark, products of the intense subjectivity of those who make them. The professor objects to Dreiser on grounds of taste, not on grounds of morals. When he acknowledges that he is not attracted by a Dreiser novel, it is not because beauty is "a debauchery and a corruption," as he sees it, but because he knows beauty, and recognizes the difference between it and ugliness. He smiles when those who cannot make that distinction try to impose their judgments upon him. The freshman's enthusiasm is always entertaining,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but as long as he is a freshman he must be kept in his place, as even the sophomores know. The professor is glad to acknowledge the value of onions in the kitchen, of gasolene on the road, of chickens at a sufficient distance in the barnyard, of fertilizer on the lawn, but the freshman's insistence upon these things as ornaments and delectations for the drawingroom has, for him, whatever the *rah-rah* boys may feel, an air of the youthfully fatuous.

LEWIS WORTHINGTON SMITH

Drake University, Iowa, December 29, 1917

BOOKS

The Princeton Offensive

The World Peril: America's Interest in the War. By Members of the Faculty of Princeton University. Princeton University Press. $1 net.

THIS is an amazing book. What the Princeton professors have undertaken to do is to offer, in the words of President Hibben's introduction, "an especial contribution to the more accurate understanding of the reasons for the entry of the United States into the European war, and to the more vivid appreciation of all that is involved in the outcome of this conflict." What they have done, besides phrasing an uninspired arraignment of Germany, is to make a volume whose treatment of certain important aspects of American foreign policy affords a veritable arsenal of weapons for those who still like to sneer at American altruism or the good faith of American democracy, and from which the German Government might, if it chose, reprint considerable extracts with satirical satisfaction.

The beginning is well enough. Dr. Henry Van Dyke offers as the first "contribution" his Fourth of July address at Madison Barracks, in which, assuming the rôle of a true "conscientious objector," he argues against the existence of the war, against the German manner of conducting it, and against "the way in which the German Government has forced this war upon our peace-loving country." Professor Wertenbaker, who follows, masses quotations and historical arguments to show that the ambitions of Germany are a vital menace to democracy in general and American democracy in particular. He admits that Germany to-day "resembles a well-oiled piece of machinery, perfectly adjusted in all its parts"; that "in the Government there is little corruption, little misdirected energy, little bungling," "no 'Pork Barrel,' no waste of money, no municipal scandals"; and that "as the Kaiser is the head of the administration, there is the lack of the periodic change of national policy which is an inherent weakness in more democratic countries" (p. 33). So far as it goes, this would seem to be a fairly good case for Germany; but no. It is "this very efficiency which makes Germany so great a menace to the world." The successes of the Germans "are due not entirely, in fact not chiefly, to the perfection of their armies, but to the organization of the nation behind them"; and if those successes are not checked, the independence of the United States will before long be endangered.

When it comes, however, to an indication of the kind of defeat that will render efficient Germany powerless for mischief and assure the safety of democratic states, Professor Wertenbaker is far from clear. "Should the Germans be successful in this war," he says, "the balance of power in Europe will be overthrown" (p. 45). Does this mean that the balance of power, whatever it was, as before the war, should be restored? Apparently not, for Professor Wertenbaker declares, a little later, that "were hostilities to end to-day upon the *status quo*, or even upon the basis of no indemnities and no annexations, the Kaiser's domination of Europe would be almost undisputed" (p. 47). Evidently there are to be some annexations, presumably at the expense of Germany and her allies. Again, "the safety of the American continents depends upon a division of power in Europe" (p. 46). The context shows that the formation of an all-powerful *Mitteleuropa* is the undivided "power" which is to be feared; but since its defeat is to be compassed only by the concerted action of states which, collectively, prove more powerful than those of the German aggregation—in other words, by the substitution of a good power for a bad one—the safety of democracy is clearly not a question of "power" at all, but rather of political character and disposition.

Again, "many are asking, is not the danger as great from England as from Germany" (p. 49). Professor Wertenbaker thinks, quite truly, that such fears are "without foundation," not only because Great Britain is a democratic nation, but also because she is not likely to make any important territorial gains out of the war. But why distribute ammunition to the many in this country who still, unfortunately, distrust England, by treating as self-evident such an argument as the following: "Can there be dread of a country the peace strength of whose army is only 138,497 men, and who (*sic*) was forced to create its effective fighting force of the present war after hostilities had begun"? Is there reason to suppose that the British army, for many years to come, will reach so low a level as 138,497; or that a nation which can create an "effective fighting force" of several millions "after hostilities had begun" might not become a dominating military power if ever it should cease to be animated by the right spirit? If right is only to be maintained by might, surely the fears of anti-militarists who happen to be also anti-British are not to be allayed by calling attention to the superior might of Great Britain or the success with which that might has been organized. Nor can we think that the interests of international comity will be served by such observations as "It was the control of the seas by the British that made possible the independence of the Latin American states . . . nor would we have been allowed to acquire Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines in 1898 had not the British navy been ready to oppose any hostile league of European Powers" (p. 50).

Professor Corwin, who contributes a chapter on the peril to international law, has the same difficulty in explaining away certain early acts of Great Britain which at the moment, we seriously think, it were better not to recall. It is about a year ago, if we remember rightly, that a distinguished American authority on international law was reported as saying publicly that if there were any important rules of international law, applicable to a state of war, that had not up to that time been violated by both the contending parties, he did not know what they were. Professor Corwin, attacking the objection that, "while Germany undoubtedly infringed upon our rights as neutrals, Great Britain by her embargo upon neutral trade with Germany did the same thing, and that, accordingly, it was not the vindication of our rights at international law which really determined our entrance into the war" (p. 57), urges that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not only were the acts of Germany "of a vastly more serious nature" than those of Great Britain, but also that, while the British embargo involved only the seizure and indefinite detention of American property, the German submarine menace, especially after February 1 last, involved the loss of American lives as well as of property. Further, while the attempt of the British Government to justify its action "was no sufficient answer to neutral protests," and the argument of Viscount Grey, in his notes of July, 1915, and April, 1916, "though exceedingly adroit, is unconvincing," the question of convincingness is "a matter somewhat beside the point" for the reason that "it is at any rate *an appeal to law*," to be dealt with after the war by an international tribunal.

The argument is identical with that adopted by Mr. Creel's Committee on Public Information, and spread broadcast in the pamphlet entitled "How the War Came to America." Barring a somewhat greater elaboration in the pamphlet than in Professor Corwin's chapter, the two authorities apparently agree that England is not to be greatly blamed for deliberately violating rights of property and trade under international law, when it was to her interest to do so, so long as she is willing to let an international tribunal, after the war, assess the damages. But why argue the point, especially when the argument itself can never be conclusive? The plain truth of the matter is that we are fighting by the side of Great Britain, not because we condone her infractions of international law, but in spite of them; and with the crisis that now confronts the Allies, it were better to let sleeping dogs lie.

It is, however, when we reach Professor Hall's long chapter, occupying about one-third of the volume, on "The World Peril and the Two Americas," that we find the largest number of passages of which a pro-German critic might make disturbing use. What is the German or Slav world to think, for example, of the benevolent American democracy in the face of such an arraignment as the following, coming at the end of a summary account of our relations with the Latin American republics?

> Americans whose faith in the unswerving justice of the United States to weaker nations has been fortified by the Roosevelt and John Hay versions of what occurred in Panama in 1903 will do well to consult an unbiassed historian's account of those events. Here it needs only to be observed in passing that the Panama revolution was projected in this country and anticipated with equanimity by our Government several weeks before it actually broke out; that under a more than doubtful construction of an old treaty dating from 1846—a construction repudiated by Colombia and by Latin-Americans generally—we resorted to forcible means to obstruct the operations of the Colombian troops attempting to suppress the rebels; that in recognizing the Republic of Panama only three days after its declaration of independence we violated principles regarding recognition which we ourselves had announced with unction in the case of the revolt of the Spanish colonies and for a far less heinous disregard of which, with reference to the recognition of the belligerency of the Confederacy in our Civil War, we had bitterly denounced England; and that the principal justification alleged for our action—that the canal was a world-necessity, the enjoyment of which by humanity self-seeking officials of a single turbulent nation could not be permitted to prevent—must be thrown out of court as irrelevant, since the question at issue with Colombia was not the granting or denial of the desired concessions, but rather the amount of money we were to pay for them. It is at least a profitable reflection whether a nation that spent over half a billion dollars, composed in considerable part of pensions and "pork," in the year 1903, might not well have afforded to add an additional item of a few millions for the sake of avoiding all appearance of injustice and conserving the good will of the people of a whole continent (pp. 121, 122).

This, of course, is pretty bad for a democracy. Happily, however, Professor Hall discerns compensations:

> We cannot regard as least among the advantages which the great European war has brought to us our escape from the normal consequences of our improvidence and ineptitude in the past and our success, through taking advantage of Germany's distractions elsewhere, in breaking her tightening clutch upon the doorways of our trade and the natural defences of our coast. Never were the ministrations of that Providence which is said to protect babies and the United States more charitably in evidence; and, by its salutary interposition, backed by the sobering and impelling lessons of the war itself, we are in a fair way to repair our old fences, build new ones, and secure the necessary preëmptions to safeguard our national preserves against designing squatters from overseas, whose utter lack of scruples is offset by an abnormal penchant for acquisitiveness (p. 136).

The next fifty pages of Professor Hall's chapter explain these cryptic phrases. We are going to capture German trade in South America. We are going to repair the ignorance and foolishness of our merchants and the monumental errors of our Government, and make good money out of this war. Our Latin American trade in 1917 is "nearly three times what it was in the year before the war." And we are going to retain "the enviable position into which the embarrassments of Europe have thrust us"; for have we not a Federal Chamber of Commerce, a National Foreign Trade Council, a National City Bank, and an American International Corporation, the latter "prepared, on occasion, to act directly and to seize opportunities that might otherwise redound to the advantage of our rivals"? To be sure, "one senses a disquieting analogy between the air of condescending superiority with which we have too often offended our Latin friends and the Teutonic conception of a world civilizing 'Kultur'"; but with the help of the business organizations just mentioned, and even of "our already rather painfully notorious Shipping Board, which, now that it has been pared and patted into harmony, may be expected" to give us ships; and with the withdrawal of the opposition of "friends of labor" to "the employment of cheap alien seamen on our ships," we may face the future with hopefulness.

How, after this, can the Department of Justice have the assurance to prosecute some poor devil of a soap-box orator who vociferates that the war is being fought in the interest of "business," when the Department of Political Science of Princeton University sets out the arguments, arranges the historical citations, and marshals the statistics?

We cannot examine in detail Professor Tyler's chapter on "American Interests in the Far East," with its arraignment of Japan as a menace to China and a possible ally of Germany, its characterization of the later history of the "open-door" policy as "rather sad reading for Americans" (p. 199), or its curious suggestion of a union of Japan, England, Russia, and the United States, which, while "maintaining the integrity of China and equal trade opportunity for all," would also "preserve the fundamental principles in the policy of both Japan and the United States," and at the same time give to Japan "undisturbed opportunity to develop Manchuria and Korea" (p. 211). Nor are we greatly impressed by Professor Brown's chapter on "World Peace," beginning with a reference to "the anæmic variety of neutrality, the paralysis of moral and intellectual powers," "the impossible rôle of the benevolent neutral," and "the dubious expedient of armed, malevolent neutrality," with which we have "experimented"; going on to praise "the magnificent service rendered to the cause of freedom by the maintenance

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Monroe Doctrine"; and later admitting that "neither of the contending parties can afford to lay all its cards on the table," because "there must always be something in reserve with which to bargain, especially in the interests of the weaker party." In their uncertainty of thought and bewildering array of contradictory incident and argument, these chapters are merely of a piece with the rest of the book.

We cannot but think that the appearance of a book like this is unfortunate, and especially just at the present juncture. We do not question the accuracy of its statements of historical fact, or the abstract right of the authors to treat their several topics as they have treated them. But it seems to us regrettable that, with the war not yet won, and with the President of the United States exerting all his great influence to keep the struggle on a high plane, the seamy sides of our history and the vulgar financial possibilities of our success should be displayed. There is in law an equity of procedure as well as of interest, which at times restrains a suitor from enforcing his right even though his right is undoubted; and a similar principle may well restrain the historian and the political scientist when nations fight for their lives. If American universities can offer no better support for the cause of democracy than this volume affords, then truly is the outlook dark.

An Anglo-Indian Problem

Indian Moral Instruction and Caste Problems. By A. H. Benton. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. $1.40 net.

ALONG with the honest endeavor of the London India Office to understand the causes of Indian unrest, as manifested before the war in various acts of violence, there is evidence that the Government of India is not satisfied with the results of the present educational system. Mr. Montagu, the new Secretary of State for India, has broken precedent by visiting his ward for a personal study of such questions, especially those involving nationalism, with a view to preparing a platform more in keeping with the promise of increased autonomy that has now been officially assured to India after the war. The great share that the Indian army has taken in the war, and the economic cooperation that her vast resources made possible in the concerted rally of the colonial empire, have made India worthy of this recognition by her suzerain.

But the question of nationalism, of increased autonomy, in so vast and heterogeneous a country, is fraught with larger and more perplexing difficulties than those which present themselves to western democracies. India's ethnic and religious laboratory offers no easy melting-pot to the modern social alchemist. Perhaps the closest analogy is Bohemia, which possesses racial and geographical entities similar to those of India, and whose Teutonics and Czechs approximate to the Hindus and Mohammedans. Thus, after a brief sixty years of central control, the British are now faced with a tremendous task of political and social adjustment. A strict census of the racial constituencies that are roughly divided into Hindu or Mohammedan, and which should fairly receive political consideration, would appall any international congress. It is important to note that the Bengali agitates autonomy for India as a whole; a pretence that is not supported by the Mussulmans and other elements: moreover, it is a politically inclusive status not yet realized by the self-governing Canadians and Australians. Let us hope that such autochthonous forms of government as the *panchāyat,* or village council, will be resuscitated as a preliminary step. Then, too, what disposition is to be made of the millions subsisting under and owning allegiance to their indigenous rulers, the princes of the Independent Native States of India? These peoples will be profoundly affected by any changes in the social or legislative equilibrium of the rest of India.

This, in brief, is the Indian problem of autonomy. The first step taken by the Indian Government is an honest examination of those Western institutions that have been effective in India during the brief period of British domination. What, for instance, are the benefits accruing to Indians from the educational system? The present desire for reform in its higher branches and in the universities, many of which favorably compare with the State institutions in this country, is doubtless owing to the disrepute into which the hybrid type of graduate has fallen in India and England. It has long been the custom to sneer at that pathetic automaton, the Bengali *Babu;* but the veneer of British culture he wears so lightly was placed on him by Macaulay. The dogmatic essayist, who spent the tedious voyage around the Cape and his torrid leisure in India reading the classics of Greece and Rome, framed the minutes for education, and, though no Orientalist himself, stated that the Indian youth could find no profit in the literature of his native Sanskrit, Arabic, or Persian. In 1836, Macaulay wrote his father in England:

> It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence; and this will be effected without any effort to proselytize, merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection.

Since that day the Indian youth has sought, through this magic portal, to acquire in parrot fashion a smattering of English that would give him a pass degree and make him eligible for Government employment. The remarkable facility, the retentive powers, displayed over the rest of India by the youth of Bengal have produced in that over-populated province a preponderating supply of such applicants for office. From the enormous number of disappointed candidates a community of intellectual discontents has been formed in Bengal, disavowing the Hindu religious and cultural traditions, aping standards that are alien, and finding outlet for its perverse, unabsorbed energies in anti-British agitation that has included aspersions on many of the leading races loyal to the British *rāj.* Thus, British pessimism over the Bengali and his unhealthy province has been aptly expressed by T. F. Bignold, a contemporary in India of Kipling:

> Our Church, as at present it stands,
> Has no congregation nor steeple;
> The lands are all low lying lands,
> And the people are low lying people.

The reviewer has taken space to clear the way for Mr. Benton's suggestive book, which is a first attempt at a solution of an aggravating problem. It is one that must commend itself to that important body of administrators, of which he was once a member, the Indian Civil Service. That such a book should have emanated from a body that has merited criticism as constituting a static bureaucracy is a sign of hope, and evidence of the new spirit infused into Indian administration since the findings of the Mesopotamia Commission. Hitherto the Indian institution has

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

approximated to the University of London, as merely an examining body with loosely affiliated colleges of varying standards, supported by Government or by missionary enterprise. Their graduates bear no impress of distinctive culture, either native or European, and they exist as merely so many avenues to the possession of a degree that made their graduates eligible for minor Government offices. Indeed, in passing, one is tempted to draw closer the analogy that exists between this situation and the Ph.D. fetich that is the *sine qua non* for pedagogic preferment in this country. A belated movement to enforce residence at Indian colleges under academic supervision has not helped the situation: the Indian sun is merciless towards those garish piles of mid-Victorian Gothic. Mr. Benton reaches the crux of the matter in suggesting that some provision should be made for the religious and moral instruction of Indian students in the tenets of their own religions and literatures.

Such a suggestion will mean that the British Government of India must abandon its classic neutrality towards the manifold races and creeds of the country. It will probably incur criticism and opposition from the important Christian missionary enterprises in India and from their supporters in Europe and America. But the time has come when certain illusions regarding the value of Western institutions as media for cultural or enlightening influences must be closely examined. There is a large school in Europe and America who share Macaulay's insistence on a thorough grounding in the English classics, sentimentally associating it with the White Man's Burden, and constituting a *Kulturkampf* that cherishes an entering wedge for Christianity. Time has had its revenges: the earnest students of Burke and Mill have readily disavowed their graven images for a vaguely conceived statue of Liberty. It is true that the more serious among them have erected reform societies like the Arya and Brahma *Samajes*, where Hinduism has been purged of its superstitious and degrading accretions. But the great rudderless majority has filled the moral and spiritual lacunæ by a sentimental and perfervid identification of their thwarted ambitions with a mystic conception of Mother India. Nor was it unnatural that they sought, in their ill-advised ardor, to impress the inchoate millions of India, the Government, and certain sympathizers in Europe and America with this new ideology by acts of violence and bomb-throwing. This disaffected group controls the native press, is at war with the saner elements in progressive Hinduism, and has roused the ire of the militant Mussulmans. Islam, a more cohesive, religio-political community, has remained separate and has increasingly cared for its own coreligionists in India. While in the opinion of the reviewer these manifestations do not reflect a valid and representative protest by the peoples of India against the existing form of government, confined as they are to a thin crust of *literati* (out of 315 millions only 1.7 million are literate in English), yet they are part of the phenomena that the East is producing from Turkish Arabia to China, in the effort to compromise its mediæval religious and social life with the demands and the pressure of Western institutions.

In India especially the racial congeries of Hinduism and Islam has been affected by twentieth-century economic and political changes, and the war has hastened a precipitate. Why should not the suzerain give official aid to this readjustment? In our generation there can be no such gross misunderstanding as that which produced the Mutiny of 1857. The British have established an honorable record for neutrality towards India's religious integrity. Mr. Benton suggests that Indian youths should receive religious and ethical instruction from their own *gurus* and *mullahs*. Simultaneously with their secular education at the hands of the British Government they should have the chance to absorb the ethics of their respective religions. Such instruction could be imparted by outside native agencies, but still remain closely allied to, even supported by, the Government secular departments. Hitherto, in isolated and wealthy communities, like that of Islam, and of the smallest but most influential community of Parsis, provision has been made for religious and ethical instruction out of a common fund or from foundations attached to mosques or tombs such as the Mughal consorts used to endow in mediæval India. Mr. Benton wisely indicates the remarkable vehicle that caste will provide. In Hinduism caste has always resisted change, and its utilization for secular training, just as it has served the priesthood for religious purposes in the past, might assist an orientation towards modern conditions as well as illustrate the strictly non-partisan aims of British educators in regard to Hinduism. The textbooks for this system Mr. Benton would have compiled by the respective religious communities of India. He quotes the findings of a British commission that met at Bombay as admitting that "excellent materials for ethical teaching are available in the Mahabharata, Ramayana, portions of Hafiz, Maulana Rumi, and other classics in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, and Pali." This merely suggests the scope and content of Mr. Benton's thoughtful study, and we hope that it will commend itself to the British as well as to all Governments concerned with the education and welfare of Asiatic wards.

Character in the Making

Three's a Crowd. By William Caine. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

The Enlightenment of Paulina. By Ellen Wilkins Tompkins. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

The World and Thomas Kelly. By Arthur Train. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

"THREE'S a Crowd" is a story of somewhat surprising effect. In the beginning and for a long time thereafter, we seem to be in for one of those slightly cynical studies in married infelicity of which modern English novelists have made so much. The situation is unpromising from the outset—the headlong mating of a conventional Englishman and an over-coddled American girl with an impossible mother. Mrs. Brackett is a born possessor. Her private idol as a child had been a doll, and her favorite prayer that the idol might some day come alive: "I kept her always, and, as I grew older, I used to take her out of her drawer and pretend that she *had* come alive and was my real child. 'And some day,' I used to say to myself, 'it will happen really.' And at last it did and my Doll was born and my silly prayers were answered. That's why I called her Doll, you know. She's my Doll—My Doll That Came Alive." And her Doll, cared for by inches, is quite satisfied to have come alive, and grows to be a glorious creature to look upon and an amiable creature so long as she has her own way. Then young George Marsh, painter of parts, meets and is conquered by her on a Continental holiday. They marry in haste and, the mother apart, with no very good prospects of shaking down into a comfortable

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

married pair. But the mother is not apart: she has no intention of giving up her Doll to anybody, least of all a mere husband. She does indeed betake herself to her native shores for a time after the marriage, but the long arm of her obsession easily stretches across the sea. Marsh is on the way to success in his profession, but not yet rich; and his young bride demands much. The mother has her chance to keep her control of Doll by giving her a big allowance which enables her to fling money about in a way quite out of keeping with her husband's scale of living. But an even better opportunity comes through the loss of the mother's wealth, and her subsequent lodgment in her daughter's household. Marsh has been spending more than he should, to meet the whims of his wife. Now various circumstances make it imperative that they go carefully for a time, in order to go prosperously in the long run. This, under her mother's careful encouragement and tutelage, Doll resents and combats. Marsh thinks they should retrench, they think he should work harder and make it unnecessary to retrench. Open warfare springs up between Marsh and Mrs. Brackett, and the woman plans to get Doll away from him altogether. As there is a devoted lover in the offing for Doll, the end seems in sight. Thus far the story-teller, in his chatty, ironical way, seems to have brought us along a familiar road; but Doll is roused in time to the fact of her love for Marsh—does, as she says, actually "come alive" at last, and all ends well. The surprise lies in the emergence of this "happy ending" from the apparently hopeless impasse of the daughter's selfishness, the mother's unscrupulousness, the husband's pride, and their author's flippancy.

"The Enlightenment of Paulina" involves a not dissimilar *bouleversement* of mood. Beginning with a situation of unpleasant "realism," a wife who loathes and repels the physical approaches of the husband she has married for mainly sordid reasons, the reader is led by way of an atmosphere of Southern village comedy and romance to a conclusion charactered with self-sacrifice and spiritual generosity. Paulina is a repellent person at the outset, a Doll Brackett for selfishness without Doll's charm or amiability. Her stupid husband loves her; and she, giving him nothing, demands everything. Presently he becomes an embezzler for her sake, and, choosing to face the music rather than, as she urges, to run away from it, is duly "sent up" for a long term. Paulina has now a sort of freedom, but under a cloud, and she plans for a divorce. Meanwhile, she is at a loose end. With her habitual ruthlessness, she plans to make use of an old girl-friend of her dead mother. An invitation for "Pauline Selden's child" is easily extracted from the warm-hearted and clannish Southerner. At Middleborough, that right little, tight little stronghold of Southern tradition, she is readily accepted as a widow, only the Taliaferro family and, as she thinks, one other person being in the secret of her real situation. There, in the company of her kind and free-hearted hosts and their circle among the "quality" of Middleborough, she begins to feel the hard unloveliness of her own nature, and by degrees the hidden seed of good in her germinates and takes root to her ultimate transformation. The change in her involves not only growth in human kindness, but a spiritual birth through her love for the good parson Fellows. He has thought himself free to love her, and the revelation of her wifehood parts them in the flesh. But, for her at least, the experience has not been vain. She is in the right way at last, and the chances of her own happiness no longer determine her attitude towards the world. Aside from the main theme, the development of a woman's character, the story has much individuality; its picture of the Middleborough elect is less concerned with their typical Southern quaintnesses than with their essential quality.

Much the same trend or "moral" may be found in a very different and on the whole less original story, "The World and Thomas Kelly"—youth making its way out of the slough of its own self-absorption, and getting foothold, at last, on firm ground. Thomas Kelly is a young Bostonian, a son of ancient Massachusetts stock. But though one of his forebears has been a Governor, and he himself is born in Back Bay, he grows up to find himself just without the pale of the socially elect. His father has been a rather slack representative of his race, his mother is a daughter of the common herd, and—worst of horrors—was born in Chelsea; and finally, at an hour when the Irish invasion is for the first time terrifying the Hub, the name of Kelly, ancient or not, carries its own handicap. It might not matter to some Toms, but it matters to this one. He grows up a snob, in the odor of snobbery. Three years of his life at Harvard are embittered by his quite natural exclusion from the fashionable and expensive clubs of that city of boys. In his fourth year, a fluke of athletic success brings him to the front, and proves him worthy of membership in one of these golden groups. His is a decent club for the most part, too well bred to abuse its favored existence. But it all goes to Tom Kelly's head, he takes to cards and drink, and barely pulls himself together sufficiently to save his diploma. Meanwhile always yearning over him in the background is the good, innocent, pious little mother, whose faith in her boy is stronger than her misgivings, whatever his extravagance or neglect. He comes out of the university with little real mental training, a character in part malformed, and the need of making his way in the world. He thinks of the law school. Meanwhile his prowess at tennis gains him a summer in the millionaire household of one of his clubmates at Newport. He is supposed to be there for training before the National Tournament; but he lives high and drinks hard, and when the test comes is quite too far out of condition to make more than a tolerable showing. But there are consolations: heiresses are abundant, ready to award themselves to his youth and good looks. How, after all, he escapes making a whole hopeless mess of his life, and sets his foot at least upon the first rung of the ladder of an honorable and useful career, is the substance of the latter part of the story. Readers who were familiar with the Boston of thirty years ago may find here an extraordinarily faithful and, with all its humor, sympathetic record of that place and time and atmosphere.

IN his latest volume of essays, "There's Pippins and Cheese to Come" (Yale University Press; $2 net), Charles S. Brooks, with Elia's taste for old things, writes in a deliberately archaic style on places to dine, on buying old books, on walking, on dogs, on Spring, on Mr. Pepys at the theatre, on cowards, on the early British Reviewers, and—with delightful ingenuity—on his own Youth. Both his wines and his bottles are old. He has nothing whatever that is new to communicate but his own personal gusto; and he even smacks his lips, as he employs the subjunctive mood, with an antique smack. Mr. Diedricksen's illustrations are deliciously quaint, and his name is a piquant note in the old-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time symphony. The Yale Press has completed the effect by giving the volume a little the appearance of one of those mid-seventeenth-century quartos in which Sir Thomas Browne used to visit his antiquarian friends. Text, pictures, and binding play the tune of Tom the piper's son to a book-lover's imagination, leading it over the hills and far away to a bookseller's row in the New Jerusalem where Diedrich Knickerbocker, Elia, and Sir Thomas stand side by side rummaging among the stalls for early editions of Habakkuk and Malachi.

The Drama in London

By WILLIAM ARCHER

THOUGH a little checked at the outset by "skyey influences" (not of the kind contemplated by the poet), the autumn theatrical season has been an exceptionally prosperous one. Almost all the theatres are doing well; several of them are booked up for weeks in advance. Some plays for which, under ordinary circumstances, one would have prophesied failure with cheerful confidence seem to have found a public of some sort, though where it comes from is a problem that baffles conjecture. Such a play is "Wild Heather," by Miss Dorothy Brandon. Heather, you must know, is the heroine's name—a circumstance of itself sufficiently ominous. She makes her way to Canada as stewardess on board a steamer, and there goes through a form of marriage with a millionaire on his deathbed. She thus becomes the stepmother of three sons, whom the millionaire has left behind him in England, neglected and in poverty. The eldest son, a bumptious and mannerless Socialist, promptly falls in love with her, and she with him. But the prayer-book forbids a man to marry his stepmother—whence untold agonies of spirit and raptures of renunciation. But just as Phaedra and Hippolytus are parting forever, it is discovered that the deathbed marriage was no marriage at all, and all ends happily, except for another lover of "Wild Heather," with whom she has played fast and loose in the most unpardonable fashion. A sillier play one does not often see; but it has at any rate run for six weeks, which is just six times longer than I should have expected.

American productions are, as usual, much in evidence. The inexhaustible "Romance" has entered upon its third year at the Lyric Theatre, and next door, at the Apollo, "Inside the Lines" is drawing large houses. The success of "The Willow Tree" is mainly due, in my judgment, to the propitious season; but "The 13th Chair," with Mrs. Patrick Campbell in the leading part, is the sort of piece that would doubtless have found a public at any time.

Only one English play of any note has been produced during the past month—if, indeed, it can be called a play, which is in fact a pamphlet in dialogue. An adroit mystery was maintained, both before and after the production, as to the authorship of "Loyalty." All sorts of rumors were current. Some said (quite ridiculously) that it was the work of Mr. Winston Churchill and his mother, Lady Randolph. The redoubtable Mr. Leo Maxse was suspected. A strongly supported candidate was Lord Rothermere, a member of the great Harmsworth *gens*, since appointed Air Minister. We know now that it is by Harold Owen, part author of "Mr. Wu."

Dramatically it is of no account, but from the controversial point of view it has a good deal of vigor and interest. Sir Andrew Craig is proprietor of a Radical newspaper, which is edited by a windy idealist, Ernest Stutchbury. In the first act, on the day of the Serajevo murders, we find Stutchbury eager for the cutting down of the navy estimates, rejecting with contempt the warnings of a young Canadian, who, after two years in Germany, wants to open England's eyes to her danger, and accepting with enthusiasm the lucubrations of a German contributor, who desires to interpret to the British public the friendly sentiments of his countrymen. Frank Aylett, the hero, is at the outset assistant editor of Sir Andrew Craig's paper; but, having come into a fortune, he determines to stand as an independent candidate for a constituency which Sir Andrew has been accustomed to regard as his own peculiar property. Sir Andrew and his political henchman are furious with Aylett for thus splitting the party vote, and (they fear) letting the Tory in. The second act, which takes place in the last week of July, 1914, consists mainly of a meeting at Sir Andrew's house, at which he and his staff vainly endeavor to persuade Aylett to withdraw. The third act, a month later, shows how Aylett not only splits the Radical vote, but himself carries the seat. Meanwhile, Sir Andrew, who was at a Peace Congress in Vienna when war broke out, has gone to Berlin, and, in an interview in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, has bitterly condemned England for "refusing arbitration and joining the enemies of Germany." In the last act, dated September, 1916, Sir Andrew comes back from Germany a broken man, having witnessed the treatment of British soldiers in the prison camps, and seen, or at any rate heard of, his own son done to death by his brutal jailers. In the meantime Frank Aylett, M. P., has returned from the front minus an arm, has married Sir Andrew's daughter Anthea, and is prepared to resume his legislative duties, and spread the true gospel of English—English, mark you, not British—Nationalism. It is a mysterious but merciful dispensation of Providence, by the way, that the detrimental millionaire of fiction and drama always has a lovely daughter for the hero to marry. As she is generally her father's sole heiress to boot (any inconvenient sons being got out of the way), we are justified in hoping that the millions will ultimately be devoted to the service of whatever political and social ideals the author happens to patronize.

This fable has obviously the fatal defect which inheres in almost all dramatic dialectics. The author makes his own dummy or dummies, as though for bayonet practice, paints on them whatever malignant or imbecile countenances he pleases, and then proceeds to jab, prod, and eviscerate them at his leisure. Indeed, the dramatic dummy is in even worse case than his barrack-yard counterpart, who is sometimes armed with a dummy bayonet which gives the assailant a shrewd knock if he is not careful. Not so the Radicals, and Socialists, and Pacifists of "Loyalty"—they never get a chance to hit back. They are led like lambs to the slaughter, and are barely suffered to bleat. In this respect the play exactly resembles a work by Mr. Henry Arthur Jones, "The Pacifists," which failed at the same theatre (the St. James's) two or three months ago. "Loyalty," however, is a much more adroit piece of work, and contains a number of "good lines" and effective tirades.

The best line, I think, is this of Stutchbury's, after Aylett has declared himself an Independent:

> When a man suddenly comes into seven thousand a year, well, naturally, he leaves the party. Human nature, my dear Miss Craig!—the most awful thing Democracy is up against!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The jibe is of course wholly unfair, since the same thing can be said with at least equal justice of every other form of government; but it is skilfully and effectively brought in. Here is a fair specimen of the author's tone of thought, in a dialogue between Aylett and one Brown, a representative of Labor:

BROWN—D'you mean to say you don't believe the Democracy must rule?

AYLETT—Democracy! But you said Labor, which is not the same thing.

BROWN—Well, the people, then—the common people!

AYLETT—No. The common people never have ruled—and never can!

BROWN—Can't we! Then we're a-goin' to show you! . . . We're tired of being preached at. We want Power for ourselves.

AYLETT—That's what I'm afraid of. And not for the country.

BROWN—Yes, for ourselves! And a Labor Government next time.

AYLETT—Well, you may get it. . . . But you'll have to call in something which is *not* Labor to clear up the mess!

STUTCHBURY—Oh! A reactionary of the worst possible type!

AYLETT (*turning on him*)—Would you let Labor run your paper? Would you ask the compositors to control its policy?—the machine-hands to write its leaders?—the advertisement clerks to review the books? . . . And is running a newspaper a greater test of talent than running a country? . . .

And what *is* Labor, Mr. Brown? Not the *last*, but the *first* effort of mankind. But, for its progress, mankind has had to throw up those who can work with their *heads*, and they have worked, and still work, for those who can only work with their hands. And they are not to be apologized for—to be scorned and derided—they are to be thankful for!

BROWN (*a little crestfallen*)—Oh, give every man his due, say I.

AYLETT—They are the men who have transmitted their best thoughts to you—and perfected the very means by which you can read their thoughts—aye, who have taught you to read at all. They are the men who have evolved the science which has stopped the plagues that ravaged Labor . . . the men from whose minds has flashed all that has made progress possible—the poets who see, the artists who feel, the scientists who know. And the few who have thrown open all the doors to the many—they have kept nothing back, hidden no secrets, cornered no magic, smothered no knowledge—they have *spread* the light!

BROWN (*weakly*)—Oh, I know all about that!

AYLETT (*to the others*)—Well, you are not asking me to *apologize* for these men . . . the teachers, the guiders, the leaders of mankind. (*To Brown*) You say you are no longer to be preached at! Why, all you know has been taught you—your very aspirations have been breathed into you by better men than yourselves! If mankind had never got beyond Labor, where would it have been?

BROWN (*reluctant admiration*)—Well, he *does* hit straight, anyhow.

STUTCHBURY (*bravely*)—Well, of course that settles him! He won't win votes by *that!*

AYLETT (*fierce for the first time*)—Sha'n't I? I'll win minds and hearts. What would you have me say? That the trunk and the limbs shall rule the head? *Never.* How can they? That the body shall rule the mind and soul? How does it? When the body rules the mind, we know it is the appetites that rule. Won't it be the same with the body politic?

BORER—Mr. Chairman, on a point of order, when are we coming to disarmament?

Mr. Aylett has evidently been fortifying his anti-democratic principles by a study of Ibsen's "Enemy of the People," with a dash of "Coriolanus" (Menenius's apologue) thrown in. And indeed he argues no worse than Menenius, and not much worse than Dr. Stockmann. For neither Shakespeare nor Ibsen succeeded any more than Mr. Owen in giving the other side of the case a fair hearing—it is well-nigh impossible in drama. What would have become of the scene if Mr. Brown, instead of saying this "weakly" and that "a little crestfallen" and something else "with reluctant admiration," had really stood up to Mr. Aylett and suggested that he should "stow" rhetoric and talk sense? How disconcerting it would have been if Brown had asked Aylett whether he really believed that a Labor Ministry would consist of a haphazard crew of ploughmen and stevedores and navvies, or had inquired how many "poets who see, artists who feel, and scientists who know" would be included in the Tory Ministry for which Aylett, like all Independent candidates, was manifestly heading! The plain fact is that anything like a real cut-and-thrust, hammer-and-tongs argument is impossible on the stage. There is no time for it, and it would upset the economy of the action. The dice have always to be cogged in favor of the author's mouthpiece, and the result is that lovers of fair play are apt to sympathize with the losing side. Hence the doubtful policy of using the theatre for purposes of political propaganda.

In the last act Mr. Brown reappears in a less accommodating mood:

BROWN—I've had my eyes opened, *I* have! . . . I was up there last night, I tell you—when the raid was on!

STUTCHBURY—Ah! Sad affair!

BROWN—And the house next my old mother's where I was staying was blown into the street! Nothing left of it! And nothing left of the two women and three kids, either!

BORER—Well, it's war! You *will* have it!

BROWN (*sudden fierceness*)—Yes, you wait till a bloody big Zeppelin nearly blows your bloody brains out!

STUTCHBURY—Mr. Brown! Mr. Brown!

BROWN—Or you, either! "Mr. Brown-ing" me when I'm still all of a shake!

STUTCHBURY—Well, Brown, that's war—that's what Prussianism means, here or anywhere else. That's the Prussian murder spirit—it's not the German democracy——

BROWN—Oh, to hell with "the German democracy"! Do you think the blighters that come over here with the Zepps are all German princes?

The same tone is taken in a passionate speech by Mildmay, Stutchbury's secretary and drudge, who at last cannot repress his fierce rebellion against his employer's doctrines:

STUTCHBURY—Do you suggest *I* don't want to win the war?

MILDMAY—Which war? The class war? Yes! The war you're making at home? Yes! That's what *you* people are thinking about all the time—not England—but party——

STUTCHBURY—Do you mean that *I* don't want to beat Prussianism, when all my soul is against Prussianism, here or anywhere else?

MILDMAY—Yes, *here!* That's it! You're so busy trying to discover Prussianism among your own countrymen that you haven't much time for the real thing—the only Prussianism that matters now. "Don't hate the Germans, my Christian friends!" No—you keep all your hate for nearer home—calling any man a Prussian when he's merely a political opponent—shouting "Democracy!" from morning to night, as though Armageddon was only a battle for votes!

And so forth, through a tirade of ten minutes. It is all very brilliant bayonet exercise, and the Stutchbury dummy is left, at the end, one mass of gaping gashes. The only trouble is that the Stutchbury dummy does not bear the smallest resemblance to any real person—at all events, to any real person that matters. That there are people in England who hate democracy more than they hate Prussianism is true beyond all question. That there are people who care more for democracy than for victory is untrue, because it is a self-contradictory proposition. Victory over Prussianism and victory for democracy are one and the same thing. How can enthusiasm for this make one lukewarm for that, when this and that are inseparable and identical?

London, December 2, 1917

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Finance

The Course of the Stock Market

IT was probably on the principle that the Stock Exchange had been "discounting" rather rapidly the good developments in the news, that the market went irregularly lower at the close of last week. Stock Exchange machinery being what it is, such a pause is always natural and usual at a juncture of this sort. But the news could hardly be described as other than favorable. The accumulating evidence that German official trickery and diplomatic stupidity had overreached itself, with the consequent throwing of Russia back to the side of the Entente, was followed by other developments in the dispatches. The cables not only told of the final rebuff by the Bolsheviki to the German emissaries at Brest-Litovsk, but described in detail Turkey's overture for a separate peace of her own with Russia. To assume that this meant the possible breaking-up of the Quadruple Alliance of the Central Powers would be taking much for granted; but the incident threw an extremely interesting side-light on the internal conditions and mutual relations of Germany's allies.

As for the Railway Control bill, which has been submitted to Congress, there are undoubtedly some provisions whose effect is problematical, and a few whose purport is obscure. But the essential fact remains that it carries out the purpose of the President's proclamation to protect justly the interests of investors, while supporting the credit of the companies. The section making it a penal offence for any person knowingly to "interfere with or impede" the "use, operation, or control of any railroad property" by the Government, is a distinct intimation as to how the labor problem may be met. That Federal control is imposed not only for the war period, but also "until Congress shall thereafter order otherwise," is by no means necessarily a suggestion of permanent public ownership. Even the English railway men have frankly admitted that, in any case, state control of their properties during the demobilization and transition period would be unavoidable.

The main value of so striking and spectacular a recovery as has occurred on the Stock Exchange in the past two weeks is the emphasis with which it has taught the lesson that intrinsic values count. It is true enough that conditions may arise which for the time necessarily supersede any such consideration. This occurs, for instance, in a genuine "credit panic," when banks refuse to renew the loans on which holders of securities were relying, either to carry their stocks and bonds or to meet their business obligations.

Precisely that happened in all of our own greater panics; in which, however, the seemingly hopeless situation was corrected through the help of outside markets—sometimes because of the abnormally high bid made for money, sometimes because of the very low price at which securities were offered. Even in such cases, it was after all the world's recognition of intrinsic values which stopped the fall in prices.

There has been no occasion in history when investment securities were sacrificed with so complete disregard of intrinsic values as in July of 1914; indeed, it might be said of the market of that period that, with the largest holders, intrinsic values did not count at all. But the reason for that situation was quite unmistakable. Not only was every market of the world confronted simultaneously with the crisis, and not only had the home and international credit system of each broken down, but every market then facing a state of war knew that enemy markets were at work throwing international securities upon it, with the purpose of drawing away the other side's financial resources.

But no situation even remotely resembling that of 1914 existed when prices were falling to seemingly unlimited depths, two or three weeks ago. The two legitimate explanations of the movement, in its earlier stages, had been the economic influence of the competition which the new Government loans presented, and the financial influence of the realizing sales which many large capitalists had deemed necessary, in preparing for their taxes. To both processes there was a limit of normal operation.

But the Stock Exchange, passing next into a stage of purely psychological excitement, reasoned and acted as if every holder of investment stocks and bonds was about to sell all that he had, whether with a view to hoarding the proceeds or to investing in the war loans. Yet any one man's individual policy and experience should have taught him the total impossibility of such a result. The more heavily one investor or group of investors sold for such a purpose, and the lower values went, the greater became the inducement for another group to buy, even when it previously might not have meant to do so.

All this is already manifest to every one from the market since a fortnight ago. To what extent the recovery has reëstablished normal prices, in the light of intrinsic values and of financial conditions, is yet to be tested. Something must be ascribed to the easier money market condition which belongs to the relaxation, during January, of the maximum business requirements; something to the release of "dividend money" for possible reinvestment, and something to the fact that we are still some distance away from another war loan. But it is safe to say that we shall not very soon witness anything like a return to Wall Street's recent mood.

ALEXANDER D. NOYES

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

MISCELLANEOUS

A Bookman's Budget. Composed and compiled by A. Dobson. Oxford University Press. $1.50.

Beeching, H. C. The Character of Shakespeare. Oxford University Press.

Blackmore, S. A. The Riddles of Hamlet and the Newest Answers. Boston: The Stratford Co. $2 net.

Bryce, The Right Hon. Viscount. The Next Thirty Years. Oxford University Press.

Dorland, W. A. N. The Sum of Feminine Achievement. Boston: The Stratford Co. $1.50 net.

General von Bissing's Testament: A Study in German Ideals. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

A Book of Prayer for Use in the Churches of Jesus Christ. Compiled by a Presbyter. Sherman, French. $1.25 net.

Frazer, J. G. Jacob and the Mandrakes. Oxford University Press.

Galloway, T. W. The Use of Motives in Teaching Morals and Religion. Pilgrim Press. $1.25 net.

Jones, E. DeW. The Tender Pilgrims. Chicago: Christian Century Press. 85 cents net.

Macan, R. W. Religious Changes in Oxford during the Last Fifty Years. Oxford University Press.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Barker, E. Ireland in the Last Fifty Years. Oxford University Press.

Carter, W. H. The Life of Lieut.-Gen. Chaffee. University of Chicago Press. $2.50 net.

Marti, O. A. Anglo-German Rivalry as a Cause of the Great War. Boston: The Stratford Co. $1 net.

Padwick, C. E. Mackay of the Great Lakes. Oxford University Press. $1.20 net.

Roosevelt T. National Strength and International Duty. Princeton University Press. $1 net.

Steege, Mrs. K. R. We of Italy. Dutton.

Young, G. Portugal Old and Young. An Historical Study. Oxford University Press. $2.25.

FOR COURSES IN PHYSIOGRAPHY, GEOGRAPHY, MAP READING, HISTORY OF THE WAR, OR A GIFT TO SOLDIERS

TOPOGRAPHY AND STRATEGY in THE WAR

By DOUGLAS W. JOHNSON *(Associate Professor of Physiography, Columbia University)*

With 20 special maps and numerous half-tone illustrations, 8vo, $1.75 net

Professor W. M. DAVIS, Professor Emeritus in Harvard University:

"Professor D. W. Johnson's 'Topography and Strategy of the War' pleases me greatly because of the clear statement that it makes of the importance of geographical features in affecting military movements. Current newspaper reports are very deficient in this respect. Summary statements of progress in the various campaigns are too often little better, apparently because their authors have small knowledge or appreciation of the topography on the different fronts. Johnson is, on the other hand, exceptionally competent as a geographer; from the beginning of the war he has given especial attention to the movements of the opposing armies as affected by the form of the surface. His book is, therefore, a valuable contribution to a phase of contemporary history that has too generally suffered from neglect."

Professor JOSEPH BARRELL of Yale University:

"It is the most valuable single work which I know on the conduct of the war."

Professor WALLACE W. ATWOOD of Harvard University:

"The most notable and timely contribution in physical geography of the year."

HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY 19 WEST 44TH STREET NEW YORK

EVERY BOOK

advertised in this magazine (with possibly a few exceptions) is to be had in this, the

LARGEST RETAIL BOOK STORE

on its day of publication

Prompt attention given mail orders

John Wanamaker

First Floor, Old Building

Broadway at Ninth, New York

Democracy and the War

By John Firman Coar, Ph.D.

12°. $1.25.

A pertinent discussion of the issues involved in the world struggle. The author makes his definition sufficiently broad to include economics, and religious as well as political democracy, points out the menace to democracy from the policy of the Central Powers, and also exposes those tendencies which in our own land have helped check the complete realization of democracy.

G. P. Putnam's Sons

New York **London**

THE REBUILDING OF EUROPE

***By* David Jayne Hill**

The former American Ambassador to Germany herein traces the development among European races of divergent philosophical ideals of government and their relation to the present world conflagration. *Price* $1.50

Published by THE CENTURY CO. New York

THE WAR AND THE BAGDAD RAILWAY

By MORRIS JASTROW, Jr., Ph.D., LL.D., Univ. of Penna. In the words of President Wilson the Bagdad Railway is "the heart of the matter" of the present conflict. This is a war book of the utmost importance by an authority on Eastern civilization. It is the story of Asia Minor and its relation to the present conflict. Serious students of the problems of the war will find in it a complete survey of the situation in the Near East. $1.50 net.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY,
PUBLISHERS. PHILADELPHIA.

BINDER FOR THE NATION

To receive the current number in a convenient (temporary) form. Substantially made, bound in cloth, with THE NATION stamped on the side in gold. Holds about one volume. Papers easily and neatly adjusted. Sent, postpaid, on receipt of 75 cents. Address The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York City.

MR. C. E. BROOKS

Don't Wear a Truss

Brooks' Appliance, the modern scientific invention, the wonderful new discovery that relieves rupture, will be sent on trial. No obnoxious springs or pads.

Brooks' Rupture Appliance

Has automatic Air Cushions. Binds and draws the broken parts together as you would a broken limb. No salves. No lies. Durable, cheap. Sent on trial to prove it. Protected by U. S. patents. Catalog and measure blanks mailed free. Send name and address today.

C. E. BROOKS, 491B State St., Marshall, Mich.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Summary of the News

AS we go to press, we receive President Wilson's address to Congress on America's peace terms, which are in close agreement with those outlined by Premier Lloyd George. A brief summary of the President's fourteen points follows:

(1.) Open covenants of peace, with no private international understandings among nations.

(2.) Absolute freedom of the seas in peace or war, except when closed to enforce international covenants.

(3.) Removal of economic barriers to free trade among nations.

(4.) Adequate guarantees for the reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

(5.) Adjustment of colonial claims in which the populations concerned may express their opinions on an equal basis with their suzerains, in the determination of titles.

(6.) The evacuation of Russia's territories, and freedom in determining her own political development.

(7.) Evacuation and restoration of Belgium.

(8.) Evacuation of all invaded French territory, and a settlement of the injustice of 1871 in respect of Alsace-Lorraine.

(9.) Readjustment of Italy's frontiers.

(10.) Autonomous freedom to be assured the peoples of Austria-Hungary.

(11.) Evacuation of Rumania, Servia, and Montenegro, an outlet to the sea for Servia, and a guarantee for Balkan political integrity.

(12.) An assured sovereignty for the Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire, autonomous futures for other nationalities in the Empire, and free passage of the Dardanelles for all nations.

(13.) An independent Polish state erected from all Polish populations, with access to the sea.

(14.) A general association or league of nations to afford mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to both small and great nations.

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE, on January 5, replied to the Teutonic peace proposals made through the Bolshevik representatives at the conference of Brest-Litovsk. His statement is practically an Anglo-French declaration, is in accord with President Wilson's more recent address, and may be regarded as the final reply to Berlin. The salient point, among other notable features, is the declaration that the Allies do not aim at exercising any influence on the interior policy of Germany, or to alter her methods of domestic government. The British Premier stated, however, that a liberalized Germany would be a more desirable party with which to deal at a peace conference, and one that would be evidence of a disavowal of the anachronistic militarism now dominant within her borders. This statement closely follows President Wilson's earlier statement.

ADVICES from Petrograd indicate the failure of the Bolshevik and Teutonic peace parleys at Brest-Litovsk. The Bolsheviki suggested a new conference at Stockholm, but this was summarily refused by the German Foreign Office. The chief matters of dissension, however, are fundamentally outlined in the ur willingness of the Teutonic Powers to evacuate the occupied territories of Russia, and their breach of the terms of the armistice regarding the shifting and regrouping of their military units. The Bolshevik officials have evidently protested against the wholesale moving of seasoned troops from the Russian, or eastern, to the western front. These climactic results of the parley have proved to the lukewarm sympathies of the Allies the sincerity of the Bolshevik policy in regard to peace on a fair basis, and have given the Teutonic Powers mandatory notice that the régime in Petrograd cannot be easily moulded or influenced to favor their militaristic platform. According to the latest reports there is still hope of a further rapprochement, but the leaders of the Bolshevik army are said to be in favor of resuming military operations against the Teutonic enemy.

WHILE the Cossacks under Gen. Kaledines are offering fierce resistance to the Bolshevik forces at Kursk, between Moscow and Rostov, there is evidence that the Bolshevik parley with the resurgent Ukrainian forces has resulted in a suspension of hostilities. The projected Constituent Congress has failed to meet owing to the lack of a quorum, which depended upon the presence of the Ukrainian delegation. Petrograd now announces that the Ukrainian legislative body, the Rada, has notified the Bolshevik régime that the Ukrainians will refrain from lending further military assistance to the Cossacks if the Bolshevik troops are withdrawn from Ukrainia.

NO appreciable check appears to have been dealt the submarine menace. Together with the large number of Allied ships sunk during the past week is to be noted the number of ships exceeding 1,600 tons. Nine of these were lost by the British. Another point of interest is the increased number of French ships lost. Hitherto there has been a marked decline in French mercantile losses. These nine French merchantmen, added to the total of eighteen lost by the British, make the submarine bag of twenty-seven large ships a matter of concern to the Allies, and raises this month of losses to one of the worst during the past year.

WITH the retirement of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice from the British Embassy at Washington, it is reported from London that the new Ambassador designated for the post is Earl Reading, the Lord Chief Justice of England. Earl Reading came to Washington during the past year on a special mission for the British Government, and his new position is said to entail special duties connected with the supervision of British war activities in this country. The purely diplomatic rôle of his post will be relegated to the machinery of the British Embassy in Washington, in view of the peculiarly intimate relations now existing between this country and England as allies in the war.

FROM the Italian front the most cheering news during the past month is contained in the brilliant coup gained by the French relieving forces over the Austrians in a violent offensive on Monte Tomba. Gen. Pétain's experienced forces swept through the enemy's position and captured 1,400 prisoners—a number that exceeded their attacking units. On the Piave artillery actions are intermittent, though there has been a marked depreciation in the Teutonic activities since the snow has impeded the lines of communication. Reports from the Swiss frontier indicate that the enemy is suffering hardship owing to the suddenly imposed winter conditions, especially in the lack of provisions for his isolated units.

A MARKED change has been accomplished as a result of the ordnance scandal. The War Department has announced a complete reorganization under the control of business men. While Gen. Crozier continues in charge, pending action on his renomination by Congress, four new divisions have been created for handling the procurement, production, inspection, and supply of munitions. So far the appointments are limited to that of Col. Samuel McRoberts, of the National City Bank of New York, to the charge of the procurement division, but the other appointments are to be announced shortly.

IN the Quartermaster's Department the shortage of uniforms and blankets continues to occupy the attention of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. Lack of organization, the charge of favoritism in awarding contracts, and the serious deficiencies discovered in the clothing supplies of the various draft camps in the country, where a corresponding amount of sickness and discomfort has resulted, would seem to portend immediate reorganization similar to that accomplished in the Ordnance Department.

FIGHTING on the western front has been confined to patrol raids, owing to the severe winter conditions that have now gripped the country. As on the Italian front, winter conditions have relegated all activity to the artillery, and on both fronts the big guns are trying conclusions. Near Cambrai the British wrested a captured trench section from the enemy. Berlin announces a disastrous week for Allied aircraft, professing successes over fifteen of the Allied machines. Whether or not the rumor is true that the German inactivity is due to the proggress of the recent peace conference at Brest-Litovsk, the failure of that meeting, the triumph of the Junker element, and the threat of renewed hostilities from the Bolshevik army, must soon record some definite military activity in the Teutonic councils.

NEW YORK CITY once more passes into the grip of a Tammany Administration. Judge Hylan, the new Mayor, has given no sign of improvement over past Tammany candidates in the mediocrity of his civic appointments. Important positions like that of the Police Department, so notoriously corrupt and disorganized under Tammany in the past, or reconstructive work in the schools and other pressing problems, have all been delivered into the hands of office-seekers. It remains to be seen whether the new Tammany Mayor will develop independence, or merely perpetuate the municipal scandal that his party has furnished to American politics in the past.

THE outlook is hopeful as a result of the nationalization of railways. Congress is preparing to take action on a bill appropriating a fund of $500,000,000 for equipping the various lines. The Government is planning necessary extensions which will be individually paid for by the roads after the war. All dividends are to be maintained. From the representatives of the four railway brotherhoods Director-General McAdoo has received assurances of loyal coöperation and support.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Yesterday's West —and Today's

Daniel Webster once called the West a "land of sage brush, prairie dogs and savages."

TODAY in the 11 Union Pacific States live 11,000,000 productive Americans. The area of this half of the Republic is about equal to that of France, Germany, Austria, Spain, Italy, Norway and Sweden combined. From these great Treasure states comes an important part of such peace and war necessities as metals and lumber—live stock and wool—grain, fruit, vegetables and sugar. The annual production of these alone is valued at nearly five billion dollars.

The Union Pacific connects all parts of this territory with nearly 8,000 miles of tracks. Eastward and Westward roll a continuous proces sion of richly laden freight trains. And speeding by are world-famous passenger trains.

The beginning of present-day progress and prosperity and the real union of the East and West began with the building and development of the great Union Pacific.

Nearly $300,000,000 have been spent in the last twenty years in making the Union Pacific of today. This has brought double tracks, perfect roadbed, low grades, light curvature, automatic electric block signals, and most modern equipment.

Success has come to the Union Pacific through the recognition of its duty to serve.

That duty is threefold. It has a duty to the Nation as a whole. It has a duty to the communities through which it runs, and it has a duty to those who are a part of it. The interest and welfare of all these is the interest and welfare of the Union Pacific.

Some of the Products of the 11 Union Pacific States:

Grain	**2,850,774 carloads***	**Lumber**	**378,536 carloads**	**Sugar**	**18,980 carloads**
Minerals	**1,682,260 "**	**Vegetables**	**362,053 "**	**Wool**	**4,231 "**
Live Stock	**1,200,726 "**	**Fruit**	**155,534 "**	**Fish, Canned**	**2,209 "**

A total of 6,655,303 carloads annually for these nine commodities.

* These figures are the latest obtainable and are approximate.

For information write

GERRIT FORT, *Passenger Traffic Manager,* Union Pacific System, Chicago

The Nation Press, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED